

THE
JUDGMENT OF TRUTH:
OR,
COMMON SENSE and GOOD NATURE,
In BEHALF of IRISH
ROMAN CATHOLICS.

OCCASIONED BY AN
APOLOGY printed for them in LONDON.

AND AN
ANSWER intituled, 'CONSIDERATIONS, &c.
By the Rev. Mr. BLACKBURNE, Archdeacon of
CLEVELAND.

By JOHN BRETT, D. D.

Κὶ καταχαυκαταὶ εἰς κρίσις, JAMES ii. 13.

Olim contra infideles, pontificios, &c. summa cum gloria militavimus quorum venenatis voluminibus, nunc parum aut nihil reponimus, unde illis famæ celebritas, et discipulorum multitudo, nobis opprobrium: video quid possit obtendi, et sponte fateor, prospiciendum esse, nam concreditum est, nobis qui dicimur beneficiorum patroni, ne eruditæ diligentæ, præmia desint.

Orat. Synod, T. SECKER, A. Bp. of CANT. 1761.

D U B L I N :

Printed by S. POWELL, in *Dame-Street*, for the
AUTHOR, and to be sold by the Booksellers.
M D C C L X X.

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Quia contra infideles, pontifices, &c. sumus cum gloria in-
flavimus quorum vultus voluimus, nunc pariter ad
nihil tepomimus, nisi hinc celebramus, et discipulorum
multitudo, nobis ostendimus, quid possit ostendi,
et sponte fateri, propositum esse, non conceditur, et
nobis qui dicimus, bene, et recte, ne erudite diligenter,
pugna debeat.

Orat. Sine, T. Secunda, A. 17p. of Cant. 1781.

DUBLIN:

Printed by S. Power, in Dame-Street, for the
Author, and to be sold by the Booksellers.

MDCCLXX.

P R E F A C E.

THE Editor of the following Treatise under no connexions with any Party, with no view to interest, or any thing that could bias his judgment, sends it abroad at this time, in the design only of doing good, if haply he may, to his country and mankind.

He laments with great seriousness, the many inconveniencies he sees it every day exposed to, and suffering, from the restraints and hardships laid upon a great body of people, who, he is confident, by different treatment, might be rendered both safer and more useful subjects, and for that has laboured to shew that till those restraints are either removed or made lighter, it is not to be expected, that they ever can become

come so, in the degree, which ought, and he believes is the object of public wisdom.

Such of THEM as may be induced to look into this Treatise, are not to conceive, that they will meet with nothing but what is suited and agreeable to their taste, for he has argued the case fairly both for and against them: the latter in a way likely to get their attention, by being, if not entirely new, yet not common or trite; and the first with more freedom and, perhaps, more advantage, than it could have come from any of their own apologists or advocates.

He is not so visionary as to imagine, that any attempt of this kind can have the immediate desired effect: but as one Essay generally opens the way for another, and by repeated ones gradual advances are made, and the event brought nearer, if he is even contributory to this, he will have a pleasing reflection, in having done so much.

As he set out in the view of entertaining Readers of another class, he has offered hints and observations upon subjects, which some may think have but little if any connexion with the main one: and in these he is warned (he owns) by a friend, that
there

there are some expressions which lie exposed to misconstruction and may possibly be objected to, upon which head he has only to desire, that if the reader meets with any thing of the kind, he will suspend his judgment, or at least stop his censure, till he has gone over and compared the whole, when it will be easily perceived, that he is a warm and fast friend to the establishment, both in church and state, thoroughly convinced, whatever blemishes or imperfections may be in either, that upon the whole it is the best any where to be found ; and that he is every where consistent.—He might wish to see it mended, but never to see it changed.

In the close, about the means and methods of reclaiming Papists, he has offered hints, which he fondly hopes may be of use, if they do not lose their weight by coming from him : if a circumstance so disagreeable should happen, under the satisfaction that every mind, conscious of intending well, must feel, he will silently over-look it : though always disposed to retract what is really an error, he will never be so complaisant, as to give up his opinion, merely because it is not of the mode or size of another man's.

To the unhappy people, to whom it is particularly addressed, he has now only to add, in the words of St. Paul, * *That his heart's desire and prayer for them is, that they may be saved*; saved now from all the evil and misery that their own and forefathers sin and folly have brought upon them; and saved hereafter from what should be more affecting, the issues of sin unrepented, and of error obstinate against conviction.

Dublin, December 1, 1769,

* Rom. x. 1.

THE

T H E
J U D G M E N T
O F

T R U T H, &c.

W H E R E the body of people in any state are by the common bonds of society, so united as to live in friendly agreement: the power of the prince or ruling magistrate will always be in greater danger than where they are already divided into factions and parties: in such case the prince to preserve his power, and maintain such prerogatives as by custom or constitution, had fallen to his share, would be obliged to adopt and have recourse to the machiavilian maxim, *to break the connection and set them at variance.*

This case so unlikely ever to happen, may yet be supposed to have been the case of many states in their beginning, and what might have lasted some time after their first settlement; when by common

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consent

consent under the conduct of a chosen leader, they had migrated in search of better quarters or more commodious dwellings, than nature and providence had assigned to them at first, and the only reason for supposing that it never will happen again, arises from the different circumstances which mankind are every where in at present. Men will never migrate like cattle or fowl in herds and flocks again, the ease and frequency of commerce having opened so many ways to individuals, whenever they feel any hardship, either from poverty or too great restraint, to fly from it, without forming such combinations.

In our theological systems sounder maxims are inculcated, there we are taught that *it is a good and pleasant thing to dwell together in unity*; upon this principle, societies were originally planned and formed; upon this they must stand, and get perpetuity. It is good as it yields happy advantages, it is pleasant as it improves and raises man's relish in the enjoyment, and doubles it again in the prospect of a permanency to come.

This is good discourse for a divine, but what will a politician say to it? if he has either much sagacity or much experience. He will say I fear, that if there be means to superinduce and bring it on, there are none to preserve and continue it; and in fact that the ingredients to either are so rare, and so seldom attainable, so little within the compass of any private power, so often out of the reach of even public power, that after weighing and considering the whole of the case, the wonder will perhaps be, not that there is so little, but rather that there

there is so much of it to be found in the societies of Mankind.

Writers upon the subject have taken such different routs, and adopted such differing sentiments, that it is not easy to say which it is the safest to follow: divines generally think they have no more to do than to prove that men are social creatures with powers and propensities disposed and fitted for society, and then run to the conclusion, that where it is not attained, it must be either from incapacity or ill meaning, in those who preside, and have taken the lead: and yet when the opinion comes to be closely examined, what it proves is perhaps no more than this, that in general men do not love to be alone, but sensible in many cases, that their pleasures are raised, and their pains and sorrows alleviated and lessened by company, are therefore fond of it.

Others have maintained a different and quite opposite opinion: *the seeds of animosity they tell you are in mens minds, and in consequence of this, that angry passions have often an influence without any opposition from interest to excite them*†: the first part of this is undoubtedly true: if the seeds of animosity were not in mens minds, they would have been a different order of beings, and must have been placed in quite different circumstances and relations, because without them the purposes of their being as they stand at present could not be carried on or attained: but it wont for all this follow, that where no occasions of war or dissention prompt or

† *Ferguson's essay, hist. civ. society.*

incite, that these seeds may not lie dormant, without evolving or shewing themselves : when *Hottentot* nations trespass upon one another, it is, (as Mr. *Kolben* says) with a view to war, and those depredations are the effects of a hostile intention. But the point is not proved for all that, for if the maintainers of this opinion would advance but one step farther, and ask themselves, what was the end of that hostile intention and what it sprung from? they must be satisfied, that there was some other view in going to war, or in seeking the occasion of it, than merely to gratify temper, in the exercise of arms and shedding of blood : various motives may easily be imagined, and I believe cruelty is rarely if ever exercised but in revenge. If any proof of the contrary has at any time been seen, it has never fallen under my observation ; I have indeed seen a child tear the limbs of a little bird asunder in such a manner as argued cruelty of temper ; but I doubt whether he knew that he was giving it pain, but if the bird, whilst he was playing with it, had wounded or hurt him, the motive was revenge, and we are not to wonder at it. A better, at least safer, opinion seems to be, " that opposition of interest is the only natural source of enmity and discord," that nature in our frame hath interwoven no other, though the institutions of society have formed a (2d.) viz. *Religion*, and have so contrived it as in most cases to operate with equal force.

It is as natural to repel, or revenge an injury, as it is to conciliate good will, or court friendship ; and the greater restraints by social laws to one more than the other, are justified only by utility.

This granted, it will follow, that to produce and preserve **UNITY**, such unity as will do good, and yield joy, the following ingredients must always concur and work together, *viz.*

(1) Unity in Religion, *i. e.* in Faith and Worship.

(2) Unity in Interest, both political and civil.

These are the cords which tie men together; these are the bars which keep men asunder. Sometimes they alienate, and sometimes endear. In one instance making men humane and gentle, kind, cordial and benevolent; in another, morose, envious, malicious, cruel and fierce.

There are indeed particular relations, which raise affection, and have the effect of rooting it so deeply, and cementing it so strongly, that we often fondly suppose it will be proof against the impressions of either. Such are supposed to be the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, &c. But we experimentally find, that these dear and intimate unions, are as often as they are put to the proof, weak and insufficient, and where the ingredients mentioned do not co-operate, are easily dissolved: the guide of our nature, predicted that it would be the consequence of his own preaching and doctrine; and they who have been since ordained to propagate that doctrine, have been at too much pains to verify the prediction.

Let

Let us throw together some thoughts upon each, they lead to and have some connexion with the subject of the ensuing little treatise.

The (1), Unity in Religion, *i. e.* in Faith and Worship, if it may make a part of man's beatitude in heaven, never will, I doubt, upon earth; for this reason, that absolute power is necessary to bring it on, an invincible ignorance necessary to preserve and make it permanent. People there are, seemingly content under slavery, who hug their chains, and own those for benefactors who put them on: but it is ignorance only that makes them so: light will be followed by liberty; and where there is liberty, no policy upon earth ever hath, or ever will be able to give stability to power: to induce therefore perfect unity in this article, every inlet and avenue to knowledge must be barred, every cranny and chink through which a gleam of light may break must be stopped: if there is the least glimmering, the cloud will gradually break and disperse, when occasions of debate will quickly arise, and consequently subjects of dissention and strife.

It is not my business, I have neither place nor time for it here to inquire, whether the evils which in this case result from slavery or liberty, be greatest; which in sound policy should be chosen or avoided: here we are not in a condition to dispute it, let Turks and Papists, Infidels and Libertines, decide it between them: I am in none of the classes, so content myself with observing, how the case always hath been and still is: that leave any society of men, in the state wherein God placed the first man,

man, *in the hands of his own council*, and unity will be impossible.

This was verified at a time when we read of but three men in the world : the two sons had, doubtless, one and the same faith with their father, and yet there was a difference in their services, which creating a difference in the acceptation, produced animosity, that ended in bloodshed. Hence it became necessary as fast as mankind multiplied, to take the much greater part of them out of the hands of their own counsel, and to place them in a state of subjection and servitude, as the only effectual mean of preserving unity : and ever since in the histories of mankind we see that their unity hath always been proportionate to the degrees of their subjection : say what we will of man's social nature, he hath this in common with all the other species of animals, that before he is civilised, he must be tamed, and even after, the bonds which unite them, must be tied hard and fast.

If the subjection imposed extended no farther than to bodily powers, and animal functions, unity was every where of short duration, rarely subsisting long ; but if it extended to the intellectual powers, the faculties of the mind, it hath generally answered the intent of that policy which established it, and probably will till the unsearchable schemes of providence, make some alterations necessary in the schemes of human policy ; an event which hardly any man will wait for, or any wise man look for.

Where men look no farther than to the little circle of some private European dominions, these observations will not strike with immediate conviction ;

on ; the scenes in many of them are too irregular to bring them into view : but if we cast our thoughts into those vast tracts subdued by the *Saracen* caliphs, the successors of *Mahomet*, or to some nearer home, groaning still under the yoke of Popish tyranny, we shall see them not only abundantly verified, but strongly exemplified ; there to inforce uniformity, and preserve unity, light and liberty, are industriously shut out, by such bars and locks, as it is neither safe nor almost possible to break or open : they have it is true, seminaries and systems, but they are so contrived as to give in the article of religion little, if any, exercise to mental powers : the doctrines of religion are inculcated in a general way, such doctrines as their policy requires should be generally received and propagated ; but they are absolutely precluded at any time from drawing at the fountain, or looking into the Records where they are told these doctrines are originally enrolled : they have only muddy streams to repair to, which they dare not attempt to purge or purify, where the genuine, wholesome truths of religion lie so buried in obscurity, among rubbish and dirt, as to require great pains to develope, and great sagacity to distinguish.

The policy or main drift of both is the same, by intailing ignorance to insure subjection ; with this remarkable difference, which gives some preference to the former, that in *Mahometan* countries the KORAN, their Bible, is the book they are all most encouraged to read ; in Popish ones, the one of all others most carefully kept out of their way, and generally forbid to be read : so that in this particular,

particular, *Mabometans* shew more of charity and good will to mankind than *Papists*.

But if uniformity, the soul and essence of unity, is to be preserved, how is this blameable? can strife and division by any other means be avoided? the human mind getting once a taste, contracts quickly a thirst, that raises impatience, and never lets it rest: be the well in which they are to dive for it ever so deep, they will go to the bottom; set it upon a summit ever so high, they will clamber and strive to get up: moderate draughts will not quench or abate it, it will gulp and swallow down all it can comprehend, and rarely stop, till it is quite intoxicated: a man may be drunk in this way as well as in any other; enthusiasm is real drunkenness: and what is religious enthusiasm? but zeal or fondness for some favourite doctrine or opinion, and though it was erroneously imputed to the first assembly of Christians, *that they were drunk with new wine*, to such as knew nothing of the grounds of their persuasion, and conviction, there might have been ground for the imputation: *much learning too*, like much liquor, *will make a man mad*, and though it was not true of *St. Paul*, it has since been true of many who have disputed about *Paul's* opinions: this is certain, that the consequence of intoxication is in both cases the same, *scil.* certain strife and division; with this only difference, that where it happens to the intellectual powers, the fits are longer and more violent, than in the animal: the fumes of the latter, evaporating and flying off faster, cooling and subsiding of themselves, without the supplies of fresh fuel.

It

It is in this case no objection to say, that these religious drunkards, enthusiasts, are mostly amazingly ignorant, and know as little of their own ravings as common tiplers; for the species of drunkenness, like the other, depends oftener upon the quality of the things taken in and swallowed, than upon the quantity; if a man is enthusiastical in every thing, as great numbers are, this is from complexion, and such natures are capable of being managed to the best purposes, and fitted to bear a part in all the orders and offices of society; or it may be from habits early introduced by a bad education, which is of a worse kind, and rarely turns to any good: but if it be only in some singular instance, or point, it always arises from some fancied degree of knowledge, which though of no importance, if the spawn of his own brain, like the child of his own begetting, he may be so much in love with it, so attached and wedded to it, as to fancy it first necessary to his own salvation, and thence by an easy transition, to every other man's.

Most men I believe, at some time or other, have observed, or been witnesses to such instances: if there be any who have not, there are so many of the kind in the histories of mankind, that they must be very sceptical who doubt of it: they are still to be read in the pranks of our modern Methodists, and there is such a variety of ways, in which the same game may be played, that as soon as they have done, there will never be wanting others to take it up. Policy is sometimes forwarded by it, and sometimes arrested: though it has rarely any fixed end in view, there is a certain point to which it is always going forward and makes its way at last:

last: the calm researches of reason after truth never accompany or go along with it, nor will they whose time and thoughts are employed that way, ever meet respect in a society, when it has once got head.

What then is to be done, and where is the remedy? are we with Papists to shut up our bibles? is there no other way of preserving Unity of Spirit in the Bond of Peace? Let us hope (it is a flattering prospect, that we may innocently indulge) that there is an easier and better, which in the sequel we may be able to point out: to shew the way to it, even if we should not be able to smooth or attain it.

In this respect should the difficulties in the way be happily surmounted and overcome; therere is yet a (2d.) ingredient, *viz. Unity of Interest*, that I fear will throw more and greater ones in the way: it is proverbially true, that interest governs the world: it is the only principle that hath universal sway, and admits of no controul. Of individuals great numbers are led by others; some by pleasure, some by honour, some by religion, and some, I would fain hope, by virtue: but in all this variety, in every instance, where the indications are fairest and most promising, if we look close and pursue our observations, not resting in transient superficial views, it is always upon some private model of their own, with such savings and under such reservations, as they have computed will excuse every violation of equity and duty.

Thus as far as we can judge of mankind in their histories, it ever hath been, and thus I fear it
ever

ever will be, till all social combinations break up, and are dissolved, and we revert to a state of nature, *i. e.* in my sense, (the only intelligible one that I can conceive) to a state without law, where there will be no property, but all things in common, and the first possessor, the usufructuary, the strongest or most expert, will have the right.

Now as Unity of Interest is essentially necessary to unity of affection, to peace and harmony, this yields no unlikely reason why, in the formation of some societies, an intercommunity of goods, hath at least been recommended, if not established: without this, perhaps, even the first Christians could not have maintained that close and intimate union, which we are told they did: that singleness and gladness of heart with which it is said, they daily met and communicated; the Unity of Spirit, tho' so warm, and so intense, had hardly even in them preserved for any time the Bond of Peace: it is not easy to say precisely, what this account amounts to; for even in them, we find, it did not last long; differences and debates about matters of right and property quickly arose; even before the end of *Paul's* ministry, as may be seen from a very severe reproof of his to some of the Disciples, who had carried their suits before heathen judicatories*.

That in every society there are men, who having their own interests well secured, and armed with sufficient power to defend them, enjoying in peaceful quietness the fruits of their ancestors wisdom and industry, with as much as their appetites

* 1 Cor. 6. 1.

crave, or their passions solicit, who never look farther, nor think of invading the rights of other men, and who have tender feelings, and just resentments, for the injuries and oppressions which they see fall upon them, I very well know; but even these have the seeds of animosity in their minds, and it may be doubted, whether they are the upright conscientious men, which they either take themselves to be, or are generally reputed to be: experience too often proves, that the most specious and plausible of them, act only in masquerade, and their principles, admitting the men to be sincere, are not so well and firmly rooted, as to be able to bear the violence of assaults and storms. Of storms within, and assaults from without: let any of these storms arise which strongly agitate the human heart: draw them out of their retreat: put them in a state that will kindle up a spark of ambition; present an opportunity of improving their fortune by any tempting acquisition, or of rising to honour, admiration and fame, and instantly the whole man is transformed; you see him as jealous, angry, tenacious, and even revengeful to the man who would confine and set bounds to his indulgence: as wary against attacks, and as brisk in retaliating, as any of those, whom he had formerly censured, and inveighed against, for these vicious fallies.

Whether these passions grow upon men, in consequence only of education, or that turn of mind and thought which all social and legal combinations have made necessary; or whether it is possible to put men into a state which would not call them out, or give them exercise, is I conceive, quite indeterminable: men may dispute about it; men as
I have

I have observed, indeed, do dispute about it ; but is there any ? for I see no way of deciding it : the thing to be observed is this, that men are at present those kind of creatures, that wherever there is property, rights or privileges, they will quarrel and divide ; it will be a hard matter to keep them in unity, and thence wisdom must take its measures, to prevent first, and afterwards to repair, and solder the breaches : this is all that the power and skill of the legislator amounts to : when a breach is made, he can at best but solder it.

Whether Christianity, in that part of the institution, of no man having any thing he could call his own, could either have been long adhered to, or was even intended by the institution, will hardly admit of a dispute : the institution wheresoever it took its rise, was only local and temporary, to be considered rather as a propagating mean, than an established rite : in modern ages, the few who have accidentally dreamed of it, have been reputed as little better than mad men ; these ravings of enthusiasts are not suited to any political states, which we know ; in these it is plain, that no laws for the ascertaining of property, can be too clear or too precise.

In every state, civil or barbarous, the members are all so connected, and their interests so interwoven, as can never fail to preserve unity, as far as is necessary for common defence, against foreign attack : this principle we see too operating often so strongly, as to hush and heal all private and particular animosities ; for which reason, such an attack is often the best thing that can befall a state divided in itself. The love of our country, that high
founding

found and highly celebrated virtue, analyse and examine it, ye will find it all concluded in this : Here it begins, and here it ends : it is a principle as selfish, narrow, and as little universalised, as ever was bred or fostered in the human heart, or adopted into any system of ethics. The most admired instances of heroism in a *Decius*, *Regulus*, or *Brutus*, prove nothing against what I say ; and the ridicule is too striking to pass unobserved, when we hear grave moralists, descanting in praise of it, and at the same time of another quite opposed to it, viz. *Universal Benevolence*.

A writer I have already cited, imagines, *that the habit of soul, by which we consider ourselves, as but a part of some beloved community, knows no partial distinctions, and is confined to no bounds ; it may in thought at least, (he says) make us feel a relation to the whole universe, and to the whole creation*†. But in this he seems to have forgot, or to have contradicted himself ; for to consider a man's self as a part of some beloved community, must necessarily confine his affections to that community, and so of course raise the passions of envy and enmity to every other, whose general welfare may interfere with it.

To avoid this and other objections, (for I have never yet seen a system upon the subject which was not liable to many) other modern refiners have given the passion a different object : according to them, it is pointed not to the soil, but to the constitution of our country, that political form under

† Ibid. Part 1. Sec. 8.

which

which we live. Now this notion well cultivated, may have its use, by serving as a centre of union among ourselves, and yet it is to me rather more whimsical than the other : for however excellent it may be, and however deserving of our attachment, we see the principle operating with equal force and energy in those who may be considered as living under no constitution at all, having no rights, privileges, or immunities worth contending for ; in wandering tribes of *Indians*, *Arabs* and *Tartars* : let us disengage them from theory, and regulate our conclusions by what has been and still is, *i. e.* by fact and experience, and we must be convinced, that it is the interest alone, which connects and keeps together the societies of mankind, separate and distinct from one another. and is the only true and lasting bond of love and union among men.

There is one thing which obviously presents itself to every observer ; and puts it past doubt. That it is the same principle, that in one case divides them, and in the other unites them : when the whole is in danger from a foreign assault, they unite and stand together : their partialities are laid aside, they then begin to think of their common interests, of the things that equally belong to them all, as the parts of a whole : when the danger is distant, or not apprehended, particular interests, raise animosities and set them a quarrelling again : to-day they will hug and embrace as friends, to-morrow they will bite, tear and devour one another.

When men are inventing and dressing up systems in their studies, they neglect or forget too often, to examine their own hearts : they don't feel the power of their passions at the time, and thence
sometimes

sometimes forget that they have them ; and as often when they do not forget it, both speak and write, as if they had never perceived, or felt what passes there : it is generally true in the case we are speaking to, as well as in that it was first applied to, *quod petis hic est* : for though no one man can be a standard to judge by of all the rest, there is for all that a homogeneity that runs through the species, and if writers were always careful to draw from nature, though they had none to look into but their own, their judgments would be more correct, and their systems abound with fewer faults : were *Antoninus* alive to explain himself, he would say, I imagine, *that though he thought it his duty to love the whole city of God* ; he thought it equally his duty, to set bounds to that affection, as often as the interest of any other part of it came in competition with the interest of *Cecrops*.

What a useful comment might be written upon these words ; *especially † those who are of the Household of Faith* : here is a partial distinction, founded and authorised in the most universalised scheme of duty, that ever was presented to mankind.

From these, perhaps too crude and inaccurate observations, sundry others respecting the present state of this country may be deduced ; and from them some not unuseful hints to turn our thoughts to some more easy, more laudable, and promising methods, than have yet been tried to bring us all to dwell together in unity.

† *μάλιστα* maxime.

S E C T. II.

I HAVE now before me a field wherein the mazes are more perplexed and intricate than a man would ordinarily wish to travel through : possibly they may be equally rugged and thorny : happen what will, common sense and good nature shall only guide and conduct my pen ; I will stifle no sentiment of one, nor dictate of the other : the supercilious frowns of power shall not awe me : the smiling overtures of favour have too long left off to seduce or corrupt me, to allow me to imagine that they ever can return with a fresh temptation. The result most to be apprehended is, that of the contending parties, without pleasing either, I may gain the enmity of both : if it should be so ; what signifies it ? Near the verge of the ordinary best protracted span, almost within view of my recompence, what have I to do, but with integrity to shut up the scene. When it is closed, censure will not annoy me : the poison of praise, often more operative to evil, will as little affect me : *id cinerem, et Manes, credis curare sepultos*. It is time to despise those things which in the course I have run, I have generally observed to have been very undistinguishingly given away, and mostly misplaced : I now enjoy myself in old age, without anger or envy, only disdaining those who have not yet been able to forgive a little innocent pleasantry, that neither did nor could do any hurt ; and the whole of my revenge shall be to say with old MONTAIGNE : *that many quarrelled with the liberty*

liberty of my Writing, who had more reason to quarrel with the licence of their own thoughts.

But there is another source of danger, of danger not to be despised, that of my own fraternity ; all do not know the extent of the principles they have casually adopted, and few are disposed to abide by them, and go all the lengths they would carry them : our mutual prejudices are the subjects of reciprocal reproach, and it is often by too fondly indulging our own prejudices, that we quarrel with other people's : the Papists of *Ireland* are as blinded, and bigotted a race as ever existed, (I speak of them in the gross, though I know there are exceptions) but there may be reason for all that to think, that their unhappy prejudices, are sometimes as unhappily magnified, by being viewed through the cloud of our own, and are as often fatally confirmed, by impolitic and ill contrived measures to eradicate and correct them.

In one respect, I confess, caution and modesty are of duty : writers, of all other men, stand most in need of the favour of the public ; so that be their freedom and independence what it will, without a proper mixture and allay of these, their appearance will not be engaging ; the point before us is, what every body should have an eye to, but what every body is not qualified to speak to : the decision ultimately is, the right of public wisdom alone. Out of that province, the evidences upon which it must turn are rarely to be collected. To persons rolling in so low and opaque an orb as I, the whole of the case cannot well come before us : and good meaning is no security against error and mistake : my motives I can answer for, that they

are laudable and generous, and if I could answer as well for the powers of my understanding, less reserve would be due from me : diffiding in these, I pretend to no more than to investigate causes, to deduce inferences, and so refer the decision to superior judgment.

Writers in controversy, be the subject what it will, have most of them incurred two faults :

(1.) One, by a vague and undefined use of terms and phrases, without any determinate ideas affixed to them.

(2.) Another, by lugging things into it, which have no immediate or necessary connexion with it.

Sometimes, this happens by inadvertence, and sometimes by design : in one way the controversy is lengthened, in the other it is perplexed : happen as it will, the reader is ill used, and the writer inexcusable. Let me begin with an instance of the first, that will lead directly to the subject.

The principles of reformation, and the principles of reformers ; the observation is not new, but it is necessary to shew how indiscriminately they have been used, and how injudiciously they have been applied. And yet by the slightest attention, it will be easy to see, that hardly any two things are more different, or should be distinguished with greater care : it is not true that our reformers, even in *England*, where more method and caution was used, than in any other churches in Europe, either began systematically, or proceeded regularly upon

upon the principles of reformation : they seem to have been directed as often by chance as by design ; these let me modestly be allowed to say, would have carried them much farther, than they either did, or were disposed to go : where they had probity, they often wanted penetration and judgment ; where they had penetration, in some cases some of them as plainly wanted probity. Forced to accommodate themselves to the humour of an opinionated and arbitrary prince : factions at court, made factions in the church. Numbers indifferent how many of the old doctrines remained, or what new modes or opinions were substituted, if they shared in her revenues : inclining sometimes to one sect, and sometimes to another, in general afraid of extremes, and striving to keep a middle course, the cause was too often betrayed : how far their successors were tied down to follow their example, we cannot certainly say ; but ever since, so it is, that they have uniformly exhibited a very discernable intention, to deviate as little as they might from the spirit and sense of their leaders ; when they have done it at all, it was generally with reluctance, little caring how much, or how often, it was upbraided to them, if neither danger to the cause, nor penalty to themselves was incurred.

Never let truth be dissembled nor shuffled out of sight ; in a fact of such notoriety it cannot be done. The reformers in *Ed. 6.* Reign did not allow the same privileges to recusants, which, both in the preceding and subsequent reign in the humble style of petitioners, they had claimed for themselves : In those times, (indeed in no times before the revolution) was toleration ever the doctrine of the

the governing powers: in the interval between those memorable æras, it was the reserved privilege of the sect that was uppermost, to give, or to take as they liked: if one shewed more mildness and forbearance than the other, part of their good nature may be imputed to the fears of a succeeding alternative, when the opportunity of retaliating, they knew, would be instantly seized.

Historians as well as casuists sometimes help either by craft or simplicity to mislead us; writing under the same prejudices, with partial interests, attached to their sect or party; in those days how much did the new saints in *Scotland* fall short of the lofty pretensions of the Popish hierarchy? If they renounced the corrupt practices of *Rome*, can it be said, that they neither retained nor cherished the principles by which they both got being, and were propagated: when shall we be convinced that our mutual severities, are merely and only the effects of competition and rivalry for power, under the dread that getting into other hands, it may be turned against us? had the church of *Scotland* or the ecclesiastics of *Geneva*, basked as long in the sun-shine of prosperity, as it was, I may call it, the bad fortune of the other, what reason have we to doubt, that they would have been less wanton, insolent, overbearing or tyrannical. They arrogated the same powers. Can we think that if they had the fortune to grasp and possess them, that they would have lain dormant, in useless inactivity? such powers are safe in no hands, and think what we will, out of a Presbyterian church formed upon the plan of CALVIN or KNOX, as many and as great absurdities would in time obtain, as ever were

were upbraided to the see of *Rome*: put power into what hands you will, leave it to itself without opposition, and the result will be the same: this intolerant, inhospitable principle, the source of her greatest abominations is still in characters very legible, to be seen in the acts of their assemblies, and a man must be blind, who in the solemn league and covenant, that master-piece of their theological and political craft, doth not see even under the awkward disguise so clumsily thrown over them, the seeds of that very despotism and tyranny which they themselves had been running away from, and foolishly imagined, they had for ever vanquished and defeated: do men really think, that by the rancorous abuse of their neighbours ill qualities, they do or can sanctify their own? it is the spirit of dogmatizing that ought to be proscribed: the iniquity of it is the same wherever it is found, and if such qualities are in any degree subject to the influence of climate, the chance is, that they would be less acidulated, or sweeter in the air of *Italy* than of *Germany*, or *North-Britain*.

Doth the church of *England*, confessedly the mildest, and least obnoxious to censure in this respect, stand entirely acquitted? Which hath even she uniformly adhered to, the principles of reformation, or the principles of her reformers? is she spotless or without blemish? are there no instances on record, of too great severity and restraint either against aliens or her own sons, to be pleaded against her? what says the 1st. of *Elizabeth*, ch. 2. By that, *what is, or is not heresy, is to be determined by the authority of scripture. By the four first general councils, and by the parliament and convocation.*

Let

Let us bring this candidly to the test, and see how by the principles of reformation, it is to be vindicated; after laying down such a rule, instead of being surprized, that we reform'd no more, the wonder is rather that were form'd so much, that more errors were not retained, that many new ones were not added. Parliaments we know are omnipotent, but councils and convocations, tho' in some cases it has been unsafe to say so, we know as assuredly never were infallible. If representative assemblies in those days were so diffident of their own understanding that they must be guided by precedents, and could not without them judge what was necessary, or fit or expedient to be done at that time, they were to be sure, right to proceed in that way, and to follow such patterns and examples, as they imagined were purest, and best upon the whole; but then may we not, in the spirit of meekness and humility ask, what right they had to trammel and fetter their successors, and not to leave those who came after, the discretion of chusing for themselves.

In points of discipline their right to determine for themselves was unquestionable: they knew what the state of things and the temper of men, the fashions and prevailing humours would bear, respect was due to them all, it is always so; but in points of doctrine, and dogms of faith, every Protestant, if he knows what he is saying, or what he is about, will say, they had none: the rule in such matters was fixed long before, and that rule is invariable; no man has liberty to add to it, or take from it.

And

And why I pray, the four first general councils, and these only? when the spirit of reforming was let loose, men who had sound heads and sound hearts, would have taken a wider compass and have searched for precedents in the councils of all mankind: in that way, if the rule was dark and ambiguous, light perhaps might be struck out, to clear it up; but why was any such resource necessary? after the canon of scripture was closed, was not that before them? and what other helps did they want? were bishops in the 4th. century better instructed to tell us, what was, or was not heresy, than *Peter and Paul*, and *James and John*? did the *Comforter who was to guide them into all truth*, put off his coming, till the bishops were met at NICE, CALCEDON, EPHESUS, or CONSTANTINOPLE? I would as easily believe that the H. G. came to *Trent* in a cloke-bag from *Rome*: Scripture alone would, I must think, have told them what was, or was not heresy; and when councils were called in, the first justificative principle upon which the reformers set out, was plainly abdicated, fairly renounced: as soon as the authority of councils was admitted, the right to reform was given up: if we have consecrated ground to stand upon, why do we forsake it? if we go out of our intrenchments can we afterwards be safe? are we not liable to be annoyed by every stragling marauding sect? there indeed we are impregnable, assailants cannot reach or come at us, but once we quit that post where is there another to fly to that is tenable? where shall we get arms to defend it?

Besides, why, I may ask, only four general councils, why neither fewer, nor more? all councils duly

ly convened had the same powers, and if truth is to be put to the vote, if the majority was always to decide, why in the name of good sense, were not other intervening, or subsequent ones appealed to, as well as these? this and this, perhaps, only, reason can be given, that they had shewn more discretion and good temper, and had swerved less from the rule, or had strained and twisted it in fewer cases to bad purposes, than those which we rejected: be it so, for I believe it was so: but then how do we know this, and how is it proved? must it not have been by comparing the acts of those councils, with the rule, *the written word*? and if our first inducement and strongest reason for reforming was to vindicate, and restore the authority of that rule: when that was done, what occasion had we afterwards for the decision of councils? to recur to them, to be in any matter determined by them was in my humble apprehension, more properly compounding with Popery, than reforming from it, and was a compromise of such a kind, as hath given them very great advantage, and laid us under very sensible embarrassments, plainly for this reason, though no other could be given, that in the acts of those councils, some of those nostrums, and senseless particularities, which distinguish them from all other Christians, are too plainly countenanced.

It may not be amiss to give a particular instance: before it was decided, it had been long and very warmly debated, which of the two epithets *θεοτοκος* or *χριστοκος*, was properest to be applied to the VIRGIN MARY: the orthodox in general contended for the first: the *Apollinarians*, and *Nestorians*, for the second: and NESTORIUS himself, in defence

fence of his Presbyter, ANASTASIUS, the reviver of the controversy in his time, did not scruple to say, that the Blessed Virgin, could no otherwise be deemed the *Mother of God*, than her cousin *Elizabeth*, the mother of the *H. G.* with whom, her son, *John the Baptist*, was filled from his mother's womb.

When the church began to think that the Apollinarian doctrine was gaining ground too fast, the ordinary method of deciding controversies, in those days, was applied : a general council was summoned to meet at CALCEDON, where the epithet MOTHER OF GOD, was explicitly vindicated, and the Apollinarians and Nestorians, anathematised, and condemned : that there are antecedent earlier authorities to justify the expression I know : if I recollect right, it was a matter before the council of *Ephesus* : I also know, that by transporting ourselves out of the intellectual, into the ideal world, very fine metaphysical arguments have been and may be invented to defend it : whoever will read CYRIL against NESTORIUS, will find most of them, and probably be too much puzzled to get them out of his head, but wherever any respect is paid to common sense, I am inclined to think that this notion once so orthodox, will still pass for heresy, as there is not a single scrip in divine writ to father it upon, and to me, it carries so much impiety in the face of it, that the very sound of it is grating to the ear. But the reason for mentioning it here is only to observe, what ticklish ground the church of *England* stands upon in the controversy with Papists, about the worship due to the Blessed Virgin ; the latter, in their part, may sometimes ask us, why we pay worship to the Son of God, and refuse it
to

to the Mother of God : the right by priority they say, seems rather to be due to the first, and if the fathers in the beginning of the 5th, and latter end of the 4th. century, had generally agreed in the use of the epithet *Θεοτοκος*; they very inconsistently censured, (as *Ephiphanius* in the strongest terms did) those who adored her, and called that worship idolatrous : if it was reasonable to adopt the term, why did they reject the worship ? what use had Papists for those fine spun distinctions of *Latria dulia*, and *Hyperdulia* : as the case stood they might have saved the trouble of racking their brains about it †.

But

† It is a matter here very well worth observing, that the first instance of worship paid to the Virgin *Mary*, was the contrivance of women, who met on on a stated day, to offer a cake and eat it together in her honour : whence they had the name of *Collyridians* ; they came from *Scythia* into *Thrace*, thence drove out by the conquering *Goths*, they wandered into *Arabia* : was not this a glorious source for a Christian church to receive institutions from ; the rights and objects of worship ? And what can we think of protestant Dissenters, who would boggle at the ceremonies of Kneeling, a Surplice, Ring, &c. and among the causes of their separations make no mention of a practice authorised in the manner this hath been ? See *Bouvier's Lives of the Popes*, v. 1. But this token of superstition is not peculiar to Christians : *Mahometans* have it as well as Papists. *FATIMA*, daughter of *Mahomet* and wife of *ALI*, and mother of several children, is honoured and worshipped as a *Virgin* : Pilgrims in their formularies, are obliged to repeat this ; *I wish you Life Eternal, O most pure Virgin ; most Righteous and Immaculate, Glorious FATIMA, Daughter of the Elect Mahomet, Wife of the well Beloved ALI, Mother of 12 true Vicars of God. of illustrious Birth* : See *Sale's Notes on the Koran*, and *Bayle, Sur Le Verbe FATIMA*. The *Lollards* and *Wickliffites* in the beginning of the XVth. Century, generally espoused and defended by
Protestants

But there is another consideration of great consequence, and that is the difficulty it throws in our way of making profelytes from Popery, and afterwards of making those profelytes staunch and good Protestants; soon after the institution of our *Charter Schools*, a new form for the instruction of *Catechumens* was advised, and ordered; accordingly a committee was appointed to prepare one, out of which committee a bishop and dean, both deceased, were selected to draw it up. In that catechism were these remarkable Questions and Answers: Q. 1. What do you think of the worship paid by the church of *Rome* to the Virgin *Mary*? A. *I think it unwarrantable and idolatrous*: Q. 2. What do you think of that expression in the formularies of the Roman church, *The Blessed Virgin The Mother of God*? A. *I think it impious and blasphemous*.

Protestants now, as good Christians, were in this point heretical then, as we see from the old verses:

*Wit bath Wonder, and Reason cannot scan
How a Moder's maide, and God is Man.*

To which the Answer, by the Orthodox, was:

*Love Reason, believe the Wonder,
Belief bath Master, and Reason is under.*

I have taken this from a late judicious and very masterly performance, intituled *Observations on the Statutes*. *Dub.* 1767.

whether

Whether these were the identical words in which the questions and answers were put, I wont positively say, because from what mistake I know not, I had neglected to take them down in my notes : but as to the substance, I can rely on my memory, as the impression, at the time, was very strong : what was the issue ? Why, our *Irish* Consistory, not apprised of the precipice before them, very narrowly escaped falling in : in the form it was drawn, it was approved here, and transmitted to the corresponding Society : where better instructed and more tenacious of their orthodoxy, at first view they set their finger on this article as heretical, on account of its opposition to the acts of a general council, received by their church, and immediately sent it back with this angry declaration, that if these questions and answers were not expunged, they would withdraw their subscriptions, and no longer maintain any correspondence with such an heretical society. The result was, that the society ~~here~~ in an infantine state, unable to go by itself, or to stand on its own slender bottom (though far from being convinced of being in the wrong, as far as I could learn from those I conversed with at the time) kissed the rod, an expurgatory index was applied, and there the matter ended.

The only use which I am disposed or have occasion to make of this anecdote, is to observe from it, that to this spirit and conduct of our reformers, too many of our church still conform in opposition to the pure genuine principles of reformation, and then to ask, whether by thus servilely and fondly copying it, the Protestant cause is not weakened, and necessarily must lose both in reputation and strength ?

strength? I grant that children may be made very good Protestants without being taught to answer such questions, or ever hearing of such matters: but in a country, where after training, they are liable again to seduction, and run so many chances of being perverted, I must doubt whether upon the whole, it had not been more adviseable to have stuck by the form, in which the catechism went first abroad.

Let it not be imagined from any thing I have said, that any injurious reflection is intended against the names and reputations of our first reformers, who appear, upon the whole, to have been wise and good men, and perhaps went as far and did as much as the circumstances they were in would bear: their motives for compounding as they did with sectarians on both hands, are not easily ascertained; I doubt not they were such as perfectly acquitted them to their own consciences; but whatever allowances are due from us in their favour; the result hath demonstrated, that some how or other there was too much bungling, and by the discernable imperfections, advantage hath been given and taken both by Papists and Deists: the apology which I would incline to make for them would be, that they often saw and were sensible of the wrong steps they had taken, but permitted them to pass uncorrected from the apprehension, that under more inviting and seasonable opportunities, their successors in the same spirit of wisdom and piety would supply the defects, and improving on their plan, render it complete.

What hath been here intimated, is equally observable in our political disputes, in modern essays
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the principles of the revolution have been amply and very critically explained : we now reason upon them systematically, and if consistently we acted upon them, it were well ; but in the numerous instances we see them indiscriminately jumbled and confounded both in theory and practice : what are now generally received and pass under the name, were not the principles of the first busy actors in that scene : some refiners there were who foresaw they would, but very few of them intended, that they should be wire-drawn, stretched and strained in the manner they have been since. What we have gained by our refinements, or what national improvements they are likely to produce, such as are interested in the discovery may investigate if they please.

I shall content myself with observing that if each of them had with greater nicety delineated their plans : if in our *Articles, the act of uniformity, or the declaration of rights*, there had been none of those ambiguities, which every Pamphleteer pretends now to see in them, the consequence would and must have been that neither Papist nor Presbyterian, would have been able, or may be disposed to contend with us in the way they do § : the only sure way to
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§ I have sometimes diverted myself with thinking what a pity it is, that the modern mode of instructing representatives had not obtained before our constitution, either in church or state, was settled. I can't easily give it up that the clergy assembled in convocation, were in strictness any thing more than the representatives of the whole body of the Faithful ; and that they as constituents had not in one case, an equal claim to the privileges of instructing, as well as the others : I am sure it was to the full as important and valuable, if
such

lay these controversial heats, to prevent the consequences and shorten the issue, will be found at last to be by one uniform and consistent plan, honestly digested, and inflexibly adhered to; be this as it may, let us all avoid the use of undistinguished phrases and terms; by going on canting as we have done in modes not generally understood, we shall come at last, to what is perhaps the case of many already, not to understand ourselves; in which case we must not pretend to understand our opponents, and not doing so, we shall absurdly set about to confute them: armed as we are, had we been as well disciplined, and stood together in one firm and well compacted body, the enemy could not have kept the field so long: taking different routs, in stragling parties, and diversifying as we do, so oft the form of the attack, instead of a decisive blow, they have still the advantage of a barrier, which makes it hard to come at them, and the blows aimed at them, often recoil upon ourselves.

(2.) Another fault very common with writers on this subject, is the pains they take to protract and make it tedious, by lugging things into it, which have no immediate or necessary connexion with the main question; it is a matter intirely of a political consideration, what privileges Papists may be allowed, and what restraints are to be laid upon them: why then is religion made to bear so great a share in it, as often as it is brought before the public? why might it not be subtracted and left out of the account altogether?

such assemblies shall at any time hereafter be in use, the right may perhaps be asserted, and the medleys of course to be exhibited, if it should, will, I fancy, be very entertaining.

So they seem to think, and sometimes plainly tell us : and though there is a double issue proposed, both to reclaim and correct ; to make them better Christians as well as better Subjects, so far we may and must yield to them, that these views should never be confounded, or indiscriminately jumbled in the debate ; but kept so distinct, that the opponent may always, with certainty, see to what point we are tending, and whether we mean to lead him.

If the style and air be not rather too dogmatical, I would say that no notions, tenets or principles of Papists, which have no effect upon their own manners, and from which no evil or mischief can arise to society, ought to be taken into account : this is foolish, that is superstitious, and a third is idolatrous ; it is all true, and in manifold instances may be objected to them, but still the question, what we are to do with them, or for them, stands as it was, exactly the same : for this reason that neither by folly, by superstition, nor perhaps even by idolatry, do men forfeit those rights of nature, which society was instituted to preserve ; and without the omnipotent law of necessity are never to be violated : the most superstitious bigotted simpleton that ever existed, worshipping he knows not what, may for all that, be amenable to laws, may be harmless, inoffensive and peaceable, and merely for being so, intitled to protection and defence.

As to the idolatry of Papists, it is a matter of some nicety, as they neither admit the charge, nor is it a decided point, how far it falls under the power or cognizance of the civil magistrate to punish

nish or to bear with it ; St. *Paul's* question, *are we under the Law, or under Grace*, I think may determine the last, and for the first, though appearances are so many and so strong against them, as to be always justifying causes of separation, and hinder any one from being their apologist, who means, or who knows what it is *to serve God in spirit and truth*. Yet we may dismiss the subject for the present with observing that they have the same way of defending themselves in this, as hath been used by men of eminent learning in apology for the anti-ent Heathens. And by Dr. *Hyde* in particular, in defence of the *Persians*†: may I not add, that it is a matter, wherein other Christians as well as they might be put to very hard shifts to defend themselves; cases are upon record and may be adduced, where it was objected to them all; in the judgment of *Celsus*, *Julian* or *Porphry*, none of us are free: *Mahometans* in general think it an astonishing instance of the goodness of the Deity, that he feeds either us, or PERSIAN IGNICOLÆ. And were a kingdom of Jews again to arise, so intolerant is the spirit of that religion to every thing that hath the sound or the air of idolatry, that I doubt neither *Arian*, nor *Athanasian*, would be endured among them.

To hear a Jew, who adhered both to the spirit and letter of the first and second commandment, arraigned of idolatry, would sound odd, and be thought paradoxical*; and yet where worship is

† Non Cultores sed Excultores aquæ et ignis, Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.

* Mr. *Hutchinson* is positive, that the anti-ent Heathens were not idolaters, and that modern Jews and *Mahometans* both are.

misapplied, or the proper object mistaken, as in the sense of orthodox Christians, it is by every Jew, verdict must go even against them; so that till some general system is formed to which all parties shall consent and agree, we shall never be able positively to pronounce who are idolaters, and who are not: and however clear it may be in the mode of interpreting which I have been used to, or think to be right, allowances must be made for those who have been trained to a different one, nor strictly speaking can we ever be warranted in charging men with opinions and practices which they always disown: the presumptions are undoubtedly very strongly against them, so many and so palpable, as to put it out of my power to offer any thing in apology, and yet in that huge voluminous mass that hath been written on the subject, the venom of envy and malice may be thought, notwithstanding, to have blotted many of the pages.

In theological studies the variety a man meets with, let his course be what it will, according to the taste and habit he has formed, must be either very irksome, or very entertaining: for it would be hard, I believe, to give an instance of any one dogm to which the golden rule *, as it is called, *quod semper ubique et ab omnibus*, could be with certainty applied, in the point last mentioned, as little unlikely one would think, to be the subject of doubt, deception or ambiguity, as any could be chosen, enough hath been said to shew it cannot; and when we leave this and go forward to superstition, the next capital charge brought against them, we are

* *Vincent Liri.*

surprised to see with what art and ingenuity they have been defended, and that by men whom of all others, we would be least apt to suspect for it: by some of the *Deistical* tribe, who if you will believe them, have no other design than to root out every fibre of this poisonous and noxious plant.

Under avowed enmity to superstition of every form and every degree, disdaining and avoiding every thing that looks like it and may lead to it, I should not, in duty may be, have thrown an observation like this in the way of the reader; if I conceived there was much either of weight or solidity in their arguments: but as I verily think there is not, and there is often a pleasurable entertainment in examining the sentiments of Men who figure and shine in the literary sphere, in the degree the authors referred to confessedly do; as it is a point too, by no means, foreign to the subject before us, such readers as have any degree of curiosity, and have not antecedently hit on the same observations, will not think their time or attention misapplied, by giving me their company through a few pages.

ONE*, and a most masterly performer in his way, is positive in the opinion, "that superstition springs from the essential properties of human nature, and the propensity so strong as to be utterly incurable, liable to be checked, says he, by sense and learning, but never to be wholly extirpated". Is this true? philosophers, and free-thinking divines may shut up their notes, it is

* Mr. D. Hume.
idle

idle to complain of it, your pains are irrational, and will all be useless? To the author himself I would say, that if this be really his opinion, whatever the entertainment was to himself, to his countrymen the profits of his labours can be very little, though the whole of them, setting aside this particularity, can hardly be considered in any other view than as a course of prescriptions for the cure of this malady: the mass of the infected I may tell him are out of his reach; they neither can apply his prescriptions nor can they come in their way: the charge more or less lies against all the Religionists in the world: so that the worst that can be said of Papists in the matter is this, that they have made more advantage of this weakness of human nature, than teachers of any other profession: could I bring myself to be of the same opinion, I neither would quarrel with them for it, nor ever utter one sentence in reasoning with them against it.

Superstition, I confess, is a very luxuriant weed, it will grow and thrive in any soil, but never, I maintain, without culture and pains to improve and make it spread. The more there is of *fear and melancholy* in the compost, the faster undoubtedly it will take root and vegetate; and with the ingredient of ignorance thrown in, to shelter and preserve it, the shoots will be proportionably vigorous and strong. In the accounts, best authenticated, *religion* had commencement before it, and for some time preserved itself pure and unmixed: I assume this as a postulatam to reason upon; in philosophical inquiries men should be cautious not to ascribe to the Deity, the inventions of art and hypocrisy; let these be as many, as prevalent and bad as they may; his works are all good and perfect

fect in their kind, and thence we are obliged to conclude, that the taint was not original, or *ex tra-*
duce: denying this, I have no refuge but in Athe-
ism, utterly excluded from every class of Religio-
nists.

Though the authority of the book, in their ac-
count, is little or none, we may take an instance
from the bible to argue upon; *in process of time*
(at the end of days, says the Hebrew; *מִבְּנֵי הַיָּמִים*,
says the *Septuagint*, the space is indeterminate) *it*
came to pass that Cain brought, &c. This, if the
Gentleman chuses, shall stand for the epoch when
superstition began: he cannot well go higher, and
by fixing it here, he will have the authority of a
respectable Author to back him*, who instead of
the *English*, *then began men to call upon the name of*
the Lord, translates thus, *tunc inchoata est profanitas*,
adding, that for this reason SETH called the
son born to him at that time ENOS, *five tristem*.

If this is treated as no more than a rabinical con-
ceit, and the author will contend that sacrifice and
superstition are convertible terms, I shall still be at
liberty to insist, that whatever gave rise to it some
time must have elapsed before it began: for Mr.
Hutchinson's supposition, that sacrifice was institu-
ted in EDEN, is inconceivably wild, without any
ground of foundation: however rapid the progress,
without something extraneous and adventitious to
help forward the tendencies and propensions of nature,
its native proneness could never have carried it the
lengths it hath gone: subtle poisons very easily in-

* *Lightfoot*, chron. temp.

deed insinuate ; nor is there any thing in the human frame, absolutely to bar their entrance, still it is clear, that under the same care in those who took the lead, to preserve its simplicity, as hath been used to pervert and corrupt it, its course might have been arrested, and its triumphs stopt : if not, the fault is not in the culture but in the soil, and he that maintains this must abide by the consequence ; it will not be evaded.

All Superstition, says the author, *is for ever odious and burthensome*. Why ? the only reason I can think of is this ; that there is something in nature which recalcitrates and loaths it : consider then whether by admitting this, the author has not refuted himself : *if philosophy only can conquer its UNACCOUNTABLE terrors*, and philosophy hath extirpated it from his breast (for some seeds of it from parentage or education, might have been sown there, in the not barren soil, wherein he was fostered) why might not others as well as he, tho' with inferior degrees of capacity and improvement, get rid of it also ? when nature points to the cure, the remedy is at least as natural as the disease, and proves that purity, exemption and freedom, might have been preserved, had no bad arts interposed to inflame the disorder, and counteract the operation of the remedy.

If all mankind were idolators 1700 years ago, doth it thence necessarily follow *that Polytheism must have been the first and most antient religion of the world ?* the conclusion, I think, is more than the premisses will bear ; it had a longer period to work in before than it hath had since, and the accounts, as far as I can see, are no where so clear as
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to justify the assertion : it plainly contradicts the sacred accounts ; closely pursued, it authenticates them : they give a different view of the state of mankind : they represent them gradually degenerating, and departing from the simplicity and purity of their first estate : *God made man upright, but he hath sought out many inventions* : may we not suppose that the superstitious rites of the Heathen religion were in the catalogue of these inventions?

If there never was any such thing as a religion of nature, why do men talk of it, why is it the subject so often of panegyrick from his pen? why not agree rather with Mr. *Hutchinson* to call it *nonsense*, and damn those foolish books the *classicks*, from which perhaps the notion was borrowed? but having found that, have we not found what the author, in another place, insists never could be found, *a mean between superstition and enthusiasm* ; the connection between them is indeed very easily formed : one, if let alone, will easily twist and twine itself into the other : the enthusiast in his sallies, will unthinkingly often leap into the abyss of superstition, without apprehending it is in his way or near him : when he is once well warmed, he would not perhaps stop if he did see it. He did not for all that, mean it when he set out, and picking his steps with caution, he might have avoided the gulph : in short, *bad human nature no pure principles of THEISM*, it must be grafted on some better stock, or it will never revive, or be restored to being ; even under his labours, let him mean it ever so sincerely it will be utterly lost. Let candor be employed, and it may, I think, be proved, that once it was in a fair way of being recovered to that standard,

dard, where by honesty and diligence in the culture, it might have gone in health and soundness.

Is Polytheism founded entirely on vulgar tradition; where I ask did it exist before tradition had laid a foundation for it? That it leaves full scope to knavery to impose upon credulity, till morals and humanity are expelled from our religious systems, is freely admitted; but then our search after other causes is at an end: and if Theism justly prosecuted will banish every thing frivolous, unreasonable and inhuman; what have men to do, (guides, governors and guardians,) to drive superstition out of the world; but to be honest and vigilant in the exercise of their power.

To priest-craft numberless abuses are, I know, referred, which derive from a different source: the probability however, is still against him, *that a timorous and abject superstition was rather the invention of priests, than that priests were the inventors of superstition.* Corcal in his voyages, on the questions whether the inhabitants of LA PLATA have any religion, says, *that wherever there are priests there must be some religion* †. He adds in another place, *that in some northern nations of America, priest and jugler are synonymous and convertible*: It may be so; the banter does not effect me, though common practice has given so much occasion for it; and as wherever there are priests there is some religion, so it may be doubted, whether without them there would be any. There might indeed be humanity, what a favourite au-

† *Picart rel. cer.*

thor † calls the best religion : but humanity, tho' an essential, the most beautifying and recommendatory article, is not singly and of it self-religion : religion must have a more abiding principle, than can be found in the fluctuating passions, or even in the strongest propensions of nature ; which so often warp and give way to the dictates of a false religion : *He that cometh to God must believe that he is, &c.* if he don't, let him be ever so humane, he will not be religious, nor will the state of his soul be long stable or regular : without this rudder to steer it, the tempests raised by passion will soon drive it out of course.

Of that abominable load of superstition so offensive and yet so common in the world, great part I grant may be charged to priests, who have rarely any where treated the disorder sincerely, but to say that the whole of it should be charged to them, shews that infidels can rave as well as enthusiasts : as journeymen, they generally, I believe, had the drudgery of the work, and had, we may suppose, an eye to their own profit, as well as to their employers, but others shared in the honour of the contrivance : the powers which propagate it still, are the powers which produced it ; where therefore two were concerned, one singly should not be blamed, especially as one probably was the spawn of the other : now, both are so much interested in preserving the contagion, that none but palliative reme-

† Catal. R. and N. Authors. The sentiment and expression are both too incorrect to come from such a pen ; his own religion, I am confident, is better bottomed, and that at the time he wrote it, he felt in his heart the vital power of a better principle.

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dies here and there can be applied with success, till a community can be contrived, or some where or other fortuitously emerge, where there shall be *nullum mendacio premium*, as long as they bring in gain inventions will multiply, and if some sorts of merchandise thrive best by *monopolies*, let the stock be confined to ever so few hands, the consumption and demand will still be enough to encourage retailers: in fine the author I have been considering, would, very awkwardly in his way, apply to the cure of superstition: papists may, perhaps, thank him for his ingenious apology, but I can hardly imagine he meant by it all that it will bear: if it would M. Bossuet had no need for those softening colors which he hath used to varnish and hide its deformity. He might have let the fopperies of his religion, stand out in their own genuine ecclesiastical dress, and in a summary way have told us *that they sprung from an essential property of human nature, in some cases to be checked, but never to be eradicated.*

His fellow advocate in the cause hath taken a different rout, boldly contending *for the language of signs, as most powerful and efficacious: and commends the R. C. clergy for having, very judiciously, retained so many:* * such wild sallies will warm and untutored imaginations sometimes make! perhaps it is in such reveries that men detect the latent secret of their souls, and prove to us unwittingly, that they have purposes very different from those they acknowledge, or pretend: whether or no, it is exactly in the stile and sentiment of I-- H-- who we all know meant to lay a foundation for superstition, that human reason should never be able to shake: and was not ashamed (though passing

* Rousseau æmil*.

sing himself upon us as a member of a Protestant church, to say, that there was more danger of SUBTERSTITION, *than of superstition.*

The author's method of reasoning, in this as in most things, is extremely whimsical. He complains of the age for allowing too much to reason, and having recourse to it so often, *as if*, says he, *men were pure spirits.* *No Monsieur C'est in quoi, vous vous trompez :* it is because they are not pure spirits that they are forced to reason, if they were they would have no occasion for it: they would not be so often groping among problems, analysing, sorting, shifting and compounding, in order to form conclusions; able only to guess where it concerns them to be positive, and as often as they are dogmatical, almost always in the wrong. Pure spirits have neither faculties to reason with, nor data to reason upon, and till the gentleman describes to me, what sort of beings they are, their powers, offices, operations, and by what kind of instrumentality they are carried on, he may go on, and bear with him this mark of spirituality, *of not reasoning at all.*

The ground of human error, the ascendancy of superstition, in particular, is plainly from allowing rather too little than too much to reason: could a man who reasoned much, or often, mistake the agent or instrument, for the cause? would he worship the representative instead of the thing represented, and pay honour to the work of his own hands, instead of the being who made both him and it? what is it but a defect of reasoning, that makes a Papist bow to a crucifix, kneel at the shrine of a saint, mistake attributed holiness for real and essential

tial holiness, or imagine that his own contrition and amendment, will not be more efficacious in restoring him to the favour of an omniscient God, than either the intercession, or absolution of a man like himself. *Montaigne* tells a story of a young prince, who in an amorous intrigue with an advocate's wife in *Paris*: in going and returning (his way, for privacy, being through a church) always stopped to say his prayers: the lady from whom he had the story, called the young man a devout dear soul, and he in merriment, called the act a godly exercise: But what say we to it? why! that if he had reasoned upon the case, he would either have dropt the assignation, or have intermitted in his devotion: in debating the point, I won't say, but passion might have got the better, whether or no, the argument will hold equally against our author, and at the same time point out to us another fallacy in his reasoning: when he asserts, *that men cannot proceed to action, as well when the precept is in words, as when it is in emblems*: for very probably in the church through which he passed and repassed, there was an image of the B. Virgin, and some other saints, with variety of that trumpery, with which their chapels are generally crouded, so that the operation and effect of them upon his mind, must have been, if any, very languid and faint. *Addresses* then, as he says, *to the imagination, are not always most energetical*. Where these signs abound most, they are, I believe, in great veneration with the vulgar, but they are even there in equal derision with the politic and wise; those make use of them because they do not see the folly of them, these despise them because they do.

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Let it be true *that mankind have now no other influence than from force or interest*: can this be accounted for in no other way than *that they have neglected the language of signs and emblems*? Would the use of this language, if restored, destroy the influence of either? Would force be less employed? Would interest be less prevalent? Had either less influence when that language was in use? *Rocks, trees, stones, the well of oaths and the old oaks of Mamre*, in the condition of mankind at that time; when societies were few and confined, their boundaries small, and their intercourse infrequent: when every first-born of a tribe or family had despotic sway: when there was no commerce nor intercommunity, except among borderers, might guaranty federal acts, and be fitting monuments of the sanctity of contracts, but would the use of such things serve to the same, or similar purposes now? If the differing states of mankind would have born such usages, they had probably never gone into disuse, can not every one see, that in great, extended populous states, they could not be retained? Why under the legislation of Moses were they all abolished? Was writing then first revealed, as another whimsical theorist conceives?

To hear a professed Deist contending for the use of signs and emblems in the offices of religion, is we may say a little out of character, but as he has thrown it so fairly in our way, why may we not for the benefit of our countrymen the Roman Catholics of *Ireland* endeavour to improve the hint.

The

The original of Idolatry, how it began, or was introduced, and prevailed so universally, especially the species of image worship, hath been often the subject of enquiry : Doctor *Prideaux* among others hath exhibited pains and learning upon it, and nothing is more astonishing than that a practice which uncorrupted nature loaths and starts from with such averfion, should have obtained so universally. Even the people to whom the knowledge of the true God was communicated by revelation, after frequent deviations, recoveries and relapses, were with difficulty at last effectually restrained from it.

To this mystery we have at last found a key in the writings of that odd inconsistent creature already mentioned : • He hath proved, I think to demonstration that it took its rise and grew out of those very things which he would have us believe were instituted to prevent it. He goes farther, (and I think he is right) that so it must have been without a possibility of the event happening otherwise : omniscience might have foreseen it, but omnipotence by his account could not prevent it : to give it in his own confused manner, would be tedious, and to most *English* readers not intelligi-

• *John Hutchinson's* new account of Confusion of Tongues, from p. 47 to 70. ed. 1. 1731. The editor of this little treatise having, with great attention, considered Mr. *Hutchinson's* scheme, and having at present by him, what he thinks a full answer and confutation of it, means, if in his life a time should come, when any thing but politics can get attention, to give it to the public ; at present he is warned that hardly any thing else will bear the expence of printing.

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ble, instead therefore of the detail in gross, the easiest abridgement we can make must serve.

He begins with observing, “ that nothing is so good, which cannot be corrupted, misrepresented and abused : therefore we are not to wonder, that truths revealed by emblems, and handed down by tradition, had the luck to be so. The things exhibited by God to man, to give him an idea of the essence in the Trinity, nay the things revealed after the fall, when *Adam* had supposed powers in the fruit : when he had forfeited his body, and the satisfaction was to be shadowed by the life of beasts, and finished by the blood of human sacrifices : when something instead of the tree of lives was exhibited to represent the Trinity of Persons, and the substance man taken into the essence : their posterity mistook the object, and abused the things by applying them to the false object : how could it be otherwise ? It never could have entered into the mind of man to have worshipped any representation of himself, and his own shape and figure, if he had not seen such a ONE taken into the representations of the essence, much less could he ever have thought of paying the same reverence to any creature below him, if he had not seen them represent the highest objects : nor even the forms of Angels, if those forms had not been assumed by a higher Being : and though these who saw and understood this might innocently,” (he thinks, which is just the Roman Catholic plea) “ have worshipped the figure of a man, none after him would have known it was sacred, without the same mark, &c. about the head.

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“ Thus,

" Thus, from the representation in Paradise by
 " trees, they made those trees emblems of, &c.
 " in the Heavens.—From the representation of
 " the figure, parts, &c. of the Heavens, by a
 " planted plan, they made groves, fruits, &c. so
 " planted, sacred.—From the representation of
 " the essence, in the essence of the Heavens, they
 " fell to worship them.—From the manner of
 " sacrificing to God by fire, they fell to sacrifice
 " to fire.—From the instituted manner of sa-
 " crificing fruits, they fell to offer them to the
 " Heavens.—From the manner of atonement,
 " to offer the shadow, beasts blood, even the first
 " born of their own blood.—From the repre-
 " sentation by a vision of beasts, and man emble-
 " matically, to make those and such like beasts
 " sacred to the Heavens: so the Brazen Serpent
 " set up in the wilderness was made an object to
 " burn incense to, till the reign of *Hezekiah*.
 and he observes again, " That if the essence was
 " to dwell among men, to converse with them,
 " and in some measure to dwell emblematically
 " in the figures, and the figures were kept in fa-
 " milies, as well as in the S. S. Then as the
 " Heathens carried figures of these things with
 " them, at the dispersion at BABEL, it was natu-
 " ral enough for them to imagine that the essence
 " of their ELOHIM dwelt in those figures."

How the reader may approve or relish the de-
 scription, I know not; to me it is so natural, and
 the appearances of probability on its side so con-
 vincing, that it would have been unfair to have
 robbed the author of the credit of it, or not to
 yield him this testimony, that I never saw Pagan,
 Jewish,

Jewish, or Christian Idolatry, so fairly and rationally accounted for by any other writer: but then with submission to the learned Sect founded by this great modern apostle, the great question in controversy between WITSIUS and SPENCER is fairly at last decided in favor of the last, it is no longer a doubt, whether Jews borrowed rites from Egyptians, or Egyptians from Jews, and whether sacrifices and other temporary statutes and ceremonious observances of the old law, were only politically contrived, and indulged in the view of restraining Jews from the misapplication of these things to idols, or were really divine institutions in the ordinary theological sense: and again the question recoils against him, and the author I have been considering: was this a fit way of leading and instructing men? was it a likely or could it be an effectual method to make men virtuous and happy, to tie them to good, and secure their obedience? would infinite wisdom chuse, and prescribe a mean so liable to abuse, so easily misunderstood, so sure to be misapplied and perverted, and when it was abused never interpose except by prophets *וְדָא וְדָא* to Jews and Jews only to assert his sovereignty, and reclaim them from such madness and folly?

The use of these observations to Papists, is to call upon them to consider, whether those extenuations which have been sometimes pleaded in their behalf, do in truth signify any thing, or can with any shew of reason or sense of modesty be urged; they think, I know they fondly indulge the conceit, that they are not in the sink of idolatry as deep as Heathens, but they are to consider that one case is as easily

defended as the other, that they stand upon the same bottom, and if one is condemned the other cannot be acquitted; are Christ and Belial at such concord, that a little logic or rethorick is all that is necessary to bring them together? The precept of Christ is *not to be like unto the Heathen*; and to abstain from the *very appearances of evil*, which insensibly work into habit, and from likeness grew into reality: they see the danger, were there no more in it, how easily these things are abused, that there is no handling or touching them almost without being polluted: with such stains such marks of pollution, are they then fit associates in a Protestant community? *will not*, says an apologist of their own*, *an idolatrous form of worship* tend more or less to seduction and immorality? and hath not the same sensible writer in consequence confessed, *that government should be constantly upon its guard against it*. Is any plague more infectious or deadly? will one scabby sheep infect a whole flock, what should be apprehended from a contagion spread so wide, the very Shepherds carrying and handing about the infection: wash ye then and make ye clean, as soon as ye are purged and purified: we are ready to join and shake hands with ye: it is a short but a friendly lesson I am reading, and ought to be more endearing than the vain frothy harangues of your injudicious defender.

anno 1762.

* *Seasons Thoughts*, p. 150.

S E C T.

S E C T. III.

FROM these gay and sprightly Essayists, I turn me now to the sober and respectable AUTHOR OF THE CONSIDERATIONS: sorry and surprised to find, that I cannot always follow, or go along with him, when in the general principles of Protestantism we seem perfectly to agree.

It often happens, that writers of the happiest talents, and best improved parts do not reason consistently; they are inadvertent, apt to forget and overlook their own principles, and in the view of loading, and incumbering an adversary, to intangle and perplex themselves: this after strict and severe scrutiny, I am afraid will be found to be the case of the author before me: in the second page of his *considerations*, he explicitly asserts *that Papists should content themselves with ministering to such only as have been born of Popish parents, and have been educated in their own communion, i. e.* he would have them patiently to look on, whilst we are making proselytes without endeavouring to make any from us: but is this to be expected in reason from them, or to be demanded by us? if ever we come to terms, both sides must have fair play, reciprocally confessing what is right, and claiming no more than is due.

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The apprehended consequences by affrighting I imagine may have extorted this from him: I believe as well as he, that by the help of intemperate zeal, and dishonest arts, they would overmatch and run before us: but surely we have advantages to counterpoise these, and can never be in danger of being foiled, if we know how to manage them.

To the pious work of profelyting I own I see very little (turn which way I will) to excite, or warm our zeal: what are the motives, or where are the means? the motives to begin, or the means to go forward? how the case stood, when the 40th. canon was put into the code, whether the general state of men, manners, customs and opinions, made *conferring with Recusants*, expedient or necessary I know not. But at this day, and ever since I have known any thing of the state of the church, it might as well have been left out. Who that has made any experiments can boast of his success? the only sure effect of tampering much or often in this way, is to draw upon the man a greater load of enmity and ill will, than his condition for the most part is able to bear; and eventually to put a stop to all those familiar and friendly intercourses, which only present, or put in our way the proper opportunities.

A Protestant clergyman, if he is true to the principles of his profession, will use no methods of treachery, deceit or falsehood: he will invent no legendary tales, of dreams, visions, or pretended miracles; those marks of imposture and false teachers, he will neither practice himself, nor encourage

courage in others : and yet without applying by these, or similar means, he knows he can never reclaim them : giving them bibles would be a good mean if they would be taught, or could be persuaded to read them ; arguments from revelation, and reasoning from the nature and attributes of God, would be good means, if they could be brought to understand you ; but as nothing is to be hoped, or done in any of those laudable ways, slackness without indifference, remissness without disaffection to the cause, naturally grow upon us all : and tho' I know, it is at times a very popular topic of declamation, that there are pert and silly people, who twit and upbraid us with neglect in this matter, it may in most cases, be as prudent to let it alone.

Do any of us neglect the opportunities, and are too often out of the way of them, it deserves to be considered, how far they are singly to blame : in the canon, there is a notable particularity that ought to be remarked : It directs even the bishop to apply his endeavours, but with a saving that amounts to a virtual repeal, and in that view I dare say was inserted : against the inferior order it stands in full force, who are as ready to excuse themselves by the pretence, that in the ordinary and common ways they cannot conscientiously, even set about it. If in this labour of love (for love only should instigate and propel to it) they could convert *Papists* in the manner St. *Paul* did the *Corinthians* ; or as *LACTANTIUS* boasted, * he and every Christian priest had done and could do by Heathens, rege-

* Instit. Lib. 4. c. 26.

perate and cleanse them, make them holy and harmless, chaste and sober, chearfully they might, heartily they ought to set about it. But if the fruit of their zeal would be only to make men hypocrites, ten times more the children of the *Devil*, than they were, a tender mind will boggle, a good mind will never buckle to it: correct their morals, and ye will open a way to their understandings: if their manners are inoffensive, the error of their opinions, however I dislike, or may wish to change them, will never make me uneasy: the common most availing methods to compel them to come in, let them apply who please, they are not suited to my temper, they are not consistent with my divinity, I have not *so learned Christ*.

A bishop once proposed something in this way to me: I asked him would he do it himself, *his important affairs*, he said *would not permit*. I told him, I had a better excuse from conscience than he from the canon: and I own tho' I should be censured for it, that in several instances I have refused to receive them, even when they uninvited offered to recant, except they would consent to be previously instructed and shewed some tokens of conviction: They generally however made their way into the pale by applying to others: much good, said I, do the Church with such proselytes!

But what began in hypocrisy may end in sincerity, habit may bring on liking, and the effect may be good tho' the motive was bad, the children may be good Protestants: may be so: I shall not however be the instrument of sending one
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to the Devil, for sake of another, whom I have only a chance that he may be redeemed, and in that chance the odds very often against me.

To this reasoning of ours, two specious and plausible objections offer, in this useful work before me :

(1.) From the acknowledged intent of all Popish conversions.

(2.) From the apprehended and sure effect of them.

If the apologist to whom he was replying may be supposed to have delivered the common sentiments of his party, the intent of their zeal is *to strengthen themselves, by collecting force from the rigour of opposition, and manning their hearts with fortitude* : the point before us then, is how is this to be censured ? if it is only a supposed case there is little in it to quarrel with, because, in the presumption that they are really in a state of persecution, the conduct is so natural, as hardly to be avoided : nature in that case would fly to such means in spite of them, no judgment, no discretion would be able to restrain it ; it would be as natural as to fly to shelter from storms of rain, or heat, as to stop the chinks and crannies thro' which the wind or rain have got a way into our dwellings : that so they consider themselves, is evident from the manner in which the sentiment is expressed, and so far I may and must consent, that notwithstanding the lenity of government, and all the mildness of our forbearance, which have extorted their acknowledgments,

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CONNIVANCE IS NOT TOLERATION, and as far as it is so, is of a bad and impolitic kind, reflecting always more scandal on government, and followed by more inconvenience than the consequent good is equiponderate to: as long as the sword of wrath is unsheathed, hangs over their heads and glitters in their sight; as long as penal laws are in force with nothing to suspend the execution of them, but the discretion of a governor, or the good nature of a neighbour, we cannot say that the phrase is misapplied; and the reconciliations will at best be but dissembled: to be constantly exposed to dangers, to have such terrors always upon our thoughts, and before our eyes, where is the Protestant who would not think and call this persecution: we must allow then in such cases, to reason just as we do ourselves, from equal premises, to draw similar conclusions.

The apologist had indeed shewn more discretion, had he maintained what in such cases is the pretended principle of every party; *scil.* that their zeal for converting proceeded only from dictates of conscience, and charity for the salvation of souls; because none but the man himself, if even he is always sure, can tell how far he is or would be in any given case, actuated by this principle, and unaided by any other would be active and industrious in it. With respect to societies and communities, I am intirely in the opinion, that singly, without the mixture of other views and motives, it is, never the end or aim of any of them, and that without any thing to apprehend or fear from the power and policy of opponents, their zeal would mostly be very languid and cold

cold, would have little either of that impetuosity, or energy of which it so often carries the appearance : as far as I have been able to collect from the observations I have made, it is a matter of great indifference with most people, what sentiments, or opinions their neighbours entertain, when they don't interfere with their own ease, privileges, or possessions : we are all, for the most part willing enough to let people abound in their own sense, when it doth not hurt nor annoy us ; danger apprehended at any distance should be armed and provided against, consequently the indiscretion of threatening, will only revive that animosity which is fond in retaliating, and apt to strike in way of prevention, before it feels ; this is a lesson which indeed they want to be taught, and if they will learn it may do them some good.

But there is a second objection from the apprehended and sure effect of Popish zeal to make proselytes : It is said, *that every person proselyted to their religion is seduced, and perverted from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign* : Is this true ? I should be among the first and forwardest to call for new and more severe restraints, such as might bar every possible means of sedition and perversion : I would tie up both their tongues and their hands : but is this admitted by them, or can it be proved by us ? from the submissive deportment of Catholic subjects, under Protestant princes in Germany, may they not be deemed to reason irrefragably against it ? if the fact be as stated by them, Papists in Brandenburg, Saxony and Hanover, think and reason much in the same way with all the rest of the

the species : deep rooted and inveterate as their religious principles are, it shews that they are capable of bending, and being warped by the stronger impressions, and more influential motives of ease, convenient interest, the desire of liberty, and the love of their country : *UBI BENE, IBI PATRIA*, is the common voice of nature, speaking in all the tribes and individuals of mankind : philosophers and divines, princes and statesmen, have jointly and alternately laboured to lessen its force, and give it a contrary direction, but it hath in all cases been too hard for them, hath baffled and disappointed all their measures.

Princes and statesmen, we know from numerous examples will stand forth the champions of religion, when it neither warms their hearts, nor is in any degree the impelling motive to go to work, even when the form they contend for looks most friendly to their interests : we have it from *Mezeray*, That the queen regent, *CATHERINE DE MEDICIS*, awaiting anxiously the event of the battle of *DREUX*, informed by a hasty and premature messenger, that a decisive victory had been gained by the Hugonots under the conduct of the *PRINCE OF CONDE*. In the circle of her courtiers bolted out the secret of her soul, saying, *if it be so, we must all contentedly say our prayers in French**. When a late pope had with some sharpness expostulated with the empress queen, for allying with Heretics to fight against catholicks, she apologised with a sneer, *Ces sont des braves impies*, there goes, said a *French* arch-bishop, (seeing our *James II.* passing his win-

* He bien ! Il faudra done prier Dieu, en françois.

dow) an honest gentleman, *who gave away three kingdoms for a mass*. Various instances of the same tenor might be recited : In the city of *Rome* at this day, are not Jews for reasons of state allowed to dwell in safety with the free exercise of their religion, and enjoying many other priveledges : and is this peculiarly the temper of princes and political rulers ? no : it is the constitution of mankind in every class and rank, where nature seldom wears disguise ; the lowest, the most simple and credulous are all ready to play the same game, for interest in prospect, or pay in hand : they will act counter to their religious principles, and whether they know the extent of them or no, will forget that they had them.

How often have Catholicks fought even against the Pope, even when his banner was displayed in their fight, with valour and fidelity ? *Rome* the residence of his holiness, has more than once been sacked ; in short the only invincible cause of obstinacy is blindness, or want of feeling : open their eyes, let them see the good ye intend for them, and never fear, but they will repair to your colours : if they can't see ; there is another mean left, let them feel it and taste it, the evil spirit will then vanish and haunt them no more. This political exorcism, if I may call it so, will or I am strangely mistaken, go farther to dispossess them of that evil spirit which we are afraid of, than all the spiritual ones, that were ever invented.

That all Popish ecclesiastics owe promise and swear obedience to every decision and mandate of the universal pastor, is out of controversy :
which

which of them have the face to deny it? but that the laity are shackled with the same bonds or by any formal act under the same obligations, I have never heard, nor read: the assertion p. 67. *Dub. Ea. of the considerations*, that every Papist is bound on peril of damnation to an implicit submission to the dictates of the Pope, seems not sufficiently warranted: if it were so, the state of the case would be altered by it, but I see no evidence whereon to rest the allegation: and believe the only tie the Pope has upon their laity is from the compulsive force of his anathermas, and interdicts, denying them the sacrament, &c. In the last war great numbers of *Irish* catholics, voluntarily offered themselves to serve his majesty in his fleets and armies: how did they behave? were any of them mutinous? did they desert colours, or refuse to fight? were they even languid and heartless in the service? not an instance of the kind hath been heard: did they all return when disbanded, (as too many very impolitickly were) to the old superstition? some did, some we know did not: did any adhere to our communion? an addition of strength was gained to the establishment; theirs in consequence suffered some diminution, and thence an argument may be suggested, that the case distressful as it is, is not remediless, or hopeless; and that fears and jealousies, well grounded and reasonable half a century ago, may be frivolous and injurious now; greatly to abate, if not to cease altogether.

Here may I be excused such freedom, I would beg leave to recommend to the author, to reconsider this point, and examine whether he has
not

not contended with his own principles, as well as mine: if the right of proselyting be ours, I know of nothing in gospel or reason, to bar them in the exercise of the same privilege: to say, that in their way it is not *converting*, but *perverting* wont do: the thing is true, but would the language be borne, if the laws were on their side? however erroneous their principles and persuasions are, where their attachment is sincere, it will always be justified to their own consciences: so that to bar them from any attempts to make proselytes is to hinder them to do that which all the religionists in the world, always did, and still do, think the most meritorious service they can perform to the church, or party they are connected with: the practice is authorised by the forms and canons of our own church, and we idly cavil at them for doing in a Protestant country, what Protestants have done in Popish ones.

A modern traveller, has furnished the gentleman with a list of schools, and seminaries, along the coast, for the education of the youth of both sexes from *Ireland* and *England*, wherein doubtless many imbibe prejudices in favour of that religion, if they dont intirely conform to it: but who is to blame for this, they, or the disaffected in disguise; who send their children to them? in the light he has placed it, the thing is an object of national concern, and the legislature, as they only have the power of ordering, may consider what is proper in the case; if they could find a way consistent with christian liberty to prevent inconveniencies of the kind, I should

should be far from advising against it. But why can't we, or rather, do we not in this way countermine them? the gentleman must certainly have heard, how many Charter-schools there are in *Ireland*: and if in this way our conduct is laudable, I own I am so stupid, as not to see how theirs is reprehensible: if youth were sent hither from any neighbouring state to be educated, we should and certainly would receive and entertain them, and might be tampering with their prejudices, and artfully insinuating reconciling notions of our political and religious oeconomy; would this be right in us, how shall we prove it to be wrong in them? Shall I quarrel with people for doing by me, what in the same circumstances I would do by them?

Their efforts in this way are, it is true, disagreeable and irksome: we should however, have some better reason for withholding the privilege, than the disgust it raises, or the additional trouble it may create: why, or how, do they excel us so much in art and ingenuity, in erudition or the powers of arguing and persuading, that we should be afraid of them? are we conscious of any defect in ourselves, let us not to hide those defects, give them the opportunity of retorting upon us the identical imputations which we had insisted on as the justifying grounds of our first separation: if in this we unfortunately swerve a little from the example of our reformers, we cannot hide their faults, why should we be ashamed to own them? zeal for proselyting is one of the worst principles ever grafted upon human nature: productive of mischiefs, for which nature itself hath provided no remedy: it is so far too from being true, that there is generally the most excellency of religion where there is greatest zeal
to

to promote it, that I am confident the contrary in most cases, hath always been true : If this be the author's opinion we are agreed, for I do not give into that of an author already cited *, *that by soliciting a man to change his religion, we always solicit him to do wrong* : because, if there is any, there is but one way of proving it ; the argument resting only upon this supposition, that in every religion there is something good ; so that by persuading him to change, he has the chance of quitting the good that is in it, as well as the bad ; but this will not hold universally, though in some instances it may be true ; because all the good which is in that, which you would have him renounce, may be in the other, which you would advise him to embrace : eminently I think the case in every comparative view, that hath or may be made of the Roman and church of England's forms : Zeal †, says one of their best apologists, *we commend, violence we renounce*. But even this wont do ; for zeal may be immoderate and criminal, when no open violence is used ; it manifestly is so, as often as the arts of treachery and deceit are practiced ; and the ingenious author seems to have forgot himself, or not to be acquainted with the ways of his profession, when he said this ; there are so many unexceptionable vouchers against him, in the narratives of their missionaries, published by themselves, and if he calls upon me to produce them, I shall be ready to oblige him.

With as little, or perhaps less reason, may we complain of the books they print and disperse

* *Rossian* vic. sav. confession.

† *Mr. O'Connor*.

among their votaries: *the life of cardinal Poole* was a bold attack: as impolitic too at a time, when they are soliciting a Protestant government for favours, and the author's censure is judicious and seasonable: but where, if they will be doing such things, is the remedy, and how are such essays to be prevented? upon Protestant principles, what can we advise or what can we do? to the liberty of the press, exclusively of all other sects and parties, where is our charter? for reasons obvious enough, I should be sorry we had one. In writing history, from the bias of prejudice, men may neither apprehend the true state of a case, nor reason justly upon it, still the privilege of representing things as they appear to them, and forming such conclusions as they think pertinent, and the premisses will bear, is as much their due as another's: if facts are falsified, it is mostly easy to detect and refute them: if they are misrepresented, and the consequent deductions are inconclusive and weak, they give us an advantage the greatest we can desire against them: by the opportunities of *convicting* they undesignedly give us some of *convincing*, unless we want sense, or attention to seize and make use of them: but then, if we act consistently here, we must join issue, for we can go no farther, advancing a single step beyond this we prove, that it is our own and not the common liberties of mankind, we are contending for—remarkably the case of all noisy advocates for liberty—what swarms of them have the enlivening rays of plenty and security, brought forth!—how long in the disorderly shifting scenes of this popular phrensy may we compute things can go on—what forecast can any man pretend to, who does not see, that liberty is digging its own grave, wherein it, and that unconstitutional

stitutional and merely ideal thing called *independency*, will both sink, to rise no more.

The republication too of that absurd and senseless book, *The Devotion to the sacred Heart of Jesus*, with such glaring nonsense in the title! What of it? why, it is grievous I confess, that there should be here, or any where, people simple, and by that simplicity, with ignorance, credulous enough to be the dupes of such low chicanery: it is an affecting circumstance, a subject of melancholy consideration, as often as it comes in our way: but again I must repeat, how shall we help it? if we recur to the same arts, we act neither like men nor christians: if we attempt to reason with them, what chance is there that we shall be heard or attended to? the avenues to better understanding are all barricadoed, the inlets shut up, so as to be impervious, at least, whenever I have attempted to get through them: one, and perhaps only one successful way of assailing them, may be found, we may recollect the power of ridicule in the wit of *Aristophanes*: how even the divine SOCRATES was born down with it, and EURIPIDES, the source of so much pleasing entertainment, was hooted off the stage; in such competitions, the comic wit of Mr. *Foote* would do more I am persuaded, than the pious labours of a *Chillingworth* or a *Tillotson*; and a portrait in characatura from the pencil of a *Hogarth*, or a ballad from the pen of a *Tom Brown*, hawk'd and sung about through the streets and markets, would be the likeliest mean to lay the spirit of fanaticism, as often as it grew troublesome. The stoutest champion that ever sallied forth from a Jesuitical college, would hardly mount his *Rostrum* a second time to

play over his tricks, after feeling the edge of such ridicule: under this method of cure I am inclined to think too, that the WESLEYS and WHITFIELDS of the age, might have been converted into good handicraftsmen, and honestly have earned their bread at a loom or an anvil*.

Here,

* The author of the considerations, seems unwilling to believe, that there is any connexion, or correspondence between Papists and Methodists. Something therefore should be observed on this head: Fanaticism always was, and still is the source of superstition: those by a longer course, and taking a wider compass, have gathered more filth and pollution than these have had time for: but are plainly running into the same channel, and suffered to run its course, will equal it both in figure and bulk: let the reader recollect, whence Popery took its rise, increased and grew upon the world: not out of CONSTANTINE'S DONATION, as by vulgar computation, nor out of PHOCAS'S GRANT TO GREGORY: those events refer only to the period, when the fruits were ripening and men were busy in gathering into their stores; a penetrating eye will see it budding and blossoming long before, in the celebrated ages of universal orthodoxy. BELLARMINE has been quoted for impudently saying, that *faith was the off-spring of ignorance, and fools the best believers*. But how much worse play was that, than TERTULLIAN'S, *credo quia impossibile*, and that in Origen objected by Celsus, as the fond maxim of all Christians, *ne examina sed crede*; and then tell me, are not these the primary, fundamental, leading articles of every Methodist's creed. Mr. W—Y, and his followers we are told, *espoused the principles of the first reformers*: it may be so; but I should call for some farther proof of their being staunch Protestants: their first great apostle in England was Mr. LAW, marked with the reprobate stamp of the Nonjuring tribe, and in a memorable appeal vindicating his orthodoxy by high encomiums on *Jacob Behmen* (see Tucker's hist. Methodism) W—Y and W—TF—D succeeded, each pretending to adopt Mr. LAW's sentiments, but neither according to our author with sense enough to understand his plan, so after jumbling together some ill chosen ingredients from *Calvinism* and *Arminianism*, formed a hotch-potch

Here, though only in a progressive state, advancing gradually, and with caution, to the main points in controversy, my situation I fear, is become rather too delicate, and I shall be suspected for trimming too nicely between the opposite parties. Confident however, that as I go on the suspicion will wear off; I shall trouble myself no more about it, than to beg of the reader to look well to the tendencies of his own heart, and the vibrations of his own judgment: if he does, like those of a pendulum sized and suited to the latitude, they will be even and regular, and when the weights, the causes of motion, are taken off, if, like that in a perpendicular line, it stops exactly in the middle, the presumptions will be in their favour, that there was no obliqueness nor partiality within, to give it any undue bias or inclination.

I know, and I am sorry I know it, that there are Protestants, who by the stories handed down in their families, and foolishly collected into one view, (by a late pious prelate, who, in the genuine spirit of old CAXTON the chronicler, *If he could have found moo storyès, wou'd, I am persuaded, have sette in it moo,* of cruelties exercised by Papists in the memorable æra of 1641, an æra!

memorable

potch of their own, and as it could hardly be avoided, a schism quickly grew between them, and they began to take different routs:—at present by their junction with the *Hutchinsonians*, they seem to have enlarged their plan, improving and trimming it up fast to the true Catholic mode: I am not therefore in the least surprised to hear that foreign Papists speak of our Methodists with rapture: *Mr. Morgan's publication of Pere Bohour's life of FRANCIS XAVIER* was to the Jesuits inducement enough to consider them in this view.

memorable for every species and degree of iniquity and irreligion as well as that, who think that they never can be safe till Papists are either finally exterminated, or so reduced in strength and numbers. as to be in an utter incapacity either to rival or resist, and thence never indure, nor listen to a proposition, that has the air of favour, or breaths any reconciling or affectionate disposition: to these for once I will apply, what with the utmost propriety hath been a hundred times applied to the others, *they know not what manner of spirit they are of.* Let them for once suspect, or if they wont suspect, let them suspend their judgments, till they have the whole of the case fairly before them: for they are not sure, that whilst viewing the beams that are in their neighbours eyes, there may not be motes in their own, which obstruct the sight, or jaundice the object.

Till they are finally extirpated, is a rash and a foolish judgment, as foolish as it is wicked: we cannot want them; how could we be without them? *till they are in a condition neither to be able to rival or resist:* it is their case already; whence then, those bleatings in our ears! new and recent alarms to revive and augment our fears? what new dangers await us? from what quarter do they blow? in *England* the disproportion of Protestant to Papist is computed as about 20 to 1. HERE, in the sad perilous days already mentioned, they were in an inverse proportion, the ballance as great on their side; ever since gradually decreasing, at this day not full three to one: then they had property and thence power: what share of either have we left them? their resentments were then fresh and furious, their extortioners and robbers, were passing daily in view before

before them : now they are stale and extinct, lost in forgetfulness, or their edge so dulled and blunted, as to make no impression ; to say that they have no inclination to annoy or disturb us, would be injudicious : they would cease to be R--- C--- if they had none : I had almost said to be religionists : for where are the religionists to be seen or read of, who having the power to do this, ever wanted the will, or who watched not the opportunities of exerting it.

The customs and opinions of mankind ever fluctuating and changing, variations in our political creeds and systems, of course become necessary sometimes, and prudentially to take place : seasons and circumstances must and will happen, when measures once improper and unadvisable may be necessary and indispensable : and it may be true tho' so few of us seem to have thought of it, that at this instant we have arrived at the critical period, when some uncommon alteration, in the old modes of thinking and acting should commence ---- When causes visibly acting forward of themselves should have their motion accelerated, and every thing set aside or thrown out of the way, which may either retard or divert their course ---- When every abatement that without forfeiture of our own integrity, or the violation of any eternal law of truth and right, which can be made, should be made ---- When every thing should be subtracted, and blotted out of the account that does not properly belong to it, and every thing added and thrown in which good nature can dictate, or good sense can defend ---- That if possible there may be no decay, nor any complaining in our streets.

S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

IN this spirit I stand forth the advocate of every reasonable and equitable claim, the open and avowed adversary of every foolish and wicked error; conscious that though they may incline to thank me for one, many of them will hardly be persuaded to forgive me for the other. The generality of Protestant writers have conceded, *"that if no objections lay against Papists except for doctrines merely religious, they would be no more obnoxious to the magistrate than any other sect, and equally intitled to toleration on the same footing with every other Dissenter *."* Of this concession the writers on their side have endeavoured to make their advantage, and their general plea grounded upon it is this, *"that every civil crime objected and charged to them, such as treason, treachery, rebellion and perjury, are equally against the rules and dictates of their religion as against that of any Protestant sect,"* and as often as any palpable derangements are specified to invalidate the plea, they reply, by telling us, that these are not the doctrines of their religion or their church, but only the tenets of particular popes and doctors; *in vain*, says the noble author of the observations, (*Dub. 1767.*) *will it be to object, that some popes, and some Popish doctors, have run counter to these general principles of their religion.*

* Author of the confid. particularly.

Now if there be any thing in this which bears the air of reasoning, when it comes to be examined, it will I doubt avail them very little, and I could hardly have believed, if I had not read it there, that a man of his lordships good sense, long experience, and very extensive observation could have offered to the public, a plea so trifling and so easily refuted. That the doctrine of every Romish doctor, is not the doctrine of the church, in a qualified sense may be admitted, but that the doctrine of every pope is, I must, were I a catholic, indubitably maintain. Why? because by not doing it, I give up his *infallibility*, the main pillar upon which the whole fabric stands, and with it the infallibility of the church of which he is the head: thus the fair leading principle of catholicism is fairly renounced; and how or why they will afterwards adhere to the rest, they may invent and give a reason if they can: but till they do, all that any Protestant, in disputing such matters will have to do, will be to point out to them, the several false, absurd, and impious doctrines, held among them, and then refer them to the popes who have adopted and warranted them.

A distinction indeed there is, that hath often been played fast and loose with, in which they may think to shelter; that the *infallibility* does not rest in the pope alone, but in the pope and a general council together: a matter in which their own partisans are greatly divided, some maintaining the one opinion, and some the other, as often as they are graveled or pinched: but in the matter before us, whichever side they take,

take the post will be unattainable, because we can with equal ease prove to them, that the false doctrines charged to them by protestants, (those I mean for which any sensible protestant only quarrels with them) have been long the invariable doctrines of both popes and councils, jointly and severally, as often as any occasion offered either of enlarging, or confirming their usurped powers: among many that might be selected, I may single out one, to confirm what I have said: under the popedom of *Innocent X.* * the Jesuits finding that he favoured the jansenists, and would give judgment to their disadvantage, immediately cast about, how they might find some means not to submit to his censure, without opposing, or hurting his *infallibility*, and the device fixed upon was this “*that tho’ the pope was infallible in his decisions, yet it was no article of faith that he was legal pope:*” from this instance, I argue incontestibly against them, that the doctrines of the pope are the doctrines of the church: that it is an indispensable article of Catholic Faith; that the pope is infallible; and that by disclaiming the doctrines of any one pope they give up his infallibility: how his holiness that now is, would resent such language, they themselves may consider: if he goes upon the plan of his predecessors, he would call them undutiful, and disobedient children, and I imagine reprimand them with some sharpness, unless by some means or other they could convince him, that the necessity of their affairs, in a protestant country, where so many disabi-

* See *Picart’s* relig. ceremonies, art. *Jansen.* & *Molin.* vol. 1. p. 256.

lities were incurred by maintaining it, made it prudent to dissemble their real opinions, and that by such equivocations, some preponderating advantages had accrued to the common cause: lying for sake of the church, is a practice that has often been indulged to their votaries, but still they are to be told, that be the success of it in respect of their affairs what it will, the conclusion is not to be evaded, that where any false or antichristian doctrine is objected, and it can be fairly proved that any of their popes have maintained it, the pretence to infallibility is voided, and so the stately pile, the work of so many ages comes tumbling about their ears, for to use the apologists own words, *if such popes as have bought their holy religion, to countenance worldly policy, have acted wrong and been mistaken,* * they will never afterwards be able to prove, that their church, neither hath erred nor can err: under such partial and limited belief as this, my allegiance, were I a member of their church, would be very precarious: the attachment so slender, that for sake of it I should hardly forego one worldly advantage, nor for a single moment expose myself to the ridicule of holding such contradictory opinions.

But they have a better stay than this to hold by: the religion they profess is *they are sure the genuine religion of Christ*, and yet I must agree with the author of *the considerations* that of all their pretences this is the flimsiest: whence I would ask them is the religion of Christ to

• Lord Taafse's observations.

be deduced, or learned? from the sermons I imagine, and discourses of Christ, delivered to us by the evangelists, and explained by his apostles, the only authentic expositors, that I can ever submit to, throwing aside then all their other new inventions and additions; I will only ask these apologists, is the doctrine of intolerance, a doctrine of christianity? in their defences of late they have severally impugned it; and say it is not: then say I, the Roman Catholic, and christian religion are so far from being the same, that they are essentially different, the one holding, and upon every occasion enforcing a capital, and most important doctrine, that is not to be found in the other: a doctrine that changes the whole frame of their religion, and renders it a quite different thing from what it was, and must have been at first, supposing it divine.

There is still more in the case. I would beg of any of these expert controvertists to take one full and comprehensive view of their own religion, as it now stands where ever it is established and openly professed, and after comparing it with primitive christianity, in the representations of any sect, then to tell me, if they can discover any of the features, or signatures which particularise their own; what similitude, or resemblance is there between them? after so many alterations and additions as it hath undergone, how could the similitude, not to say the identity be preserved? and can any thing be idler than to pretend they are the same: it was just as good sense to say, that the ship, in which the argonauts sailed, and so long preserv-
ed

ed as a sacred relique in memory of the voyage, after so often repairing, that there was not a plank, nor hardly any piece of the first timber left, was the original identical ship, in which these adventurers had set out, and returned from *Colchis*. * For my part, I see little that Papists have to say for themselves, in the matter now before us, but that their creed, in some of its articles agree with the creeds first composed, and if this be all that is required in the constitution of a Christian church, I know none who can be fairly excluded, every man may make good his pretensions, who please to give them in: but in fair account the truth is this, that it is by keeping up to the spirit of any institution, that the institution is preserved, and afterwards with certainty distinguished, from such as are factitious, spurious, and illegitimate: and if the genuine spirit, the characteristic mark of Christianity hath been lost and obliterated, or in any essential point altered by the church of *Rome*, or any other church, their title to be a true Christian church, instantly ceases and is destroyed: they are virtually cut off, without the formality of any public act, and no longer members of the indivisible body of Christ. I for my part, shall never inquire nor call for any other criterion of orthodoxy, where the spirit of Christ is not to be found, be the churches faith what it will, though it extended to every article of every creed, that ever was composed, *they are none of his*, nor will HE own or acknowledge them.

* *Picart* *ibid.*

This doctrine of intolerance, by their own confession not a doctrine of Christianity, when and by whom was it broached and introduced? they will tell me perhaps, some time before any of the papal usurpations commenced; long before it got into their canons, or had the sanction of any ecclesiastical authority: as soon as Christians were at liberty to exercise it, and had prevailed, and triumphed to a degree that rid them of any restraint, or the fears of being retaliated upon by *Heathens*.

I believe it; but will this apologize for THEM? what were their infallible Popes and universal pastors doing all the while? did they silently look on without remonstrating, or endeavouring to controul the antichristian spirit? or did they chime in with the rest, and with greater forwardness than other lead and shew them the way? if they did either, the faster their power and authority increased, their sin and conviction kept pace and were proportionate, because the fact is, that in time they grew to such power and state, as to be able to arrest and controul all the other churches, and to force their compliance to every thing they had a mind to propose: why then, when they were possessed of this plenitude of power, if it might not have been convenient before, did they not reform this abuse, or at least stop it from going farther? can they furnish us with an instance of any Pope, who in this important article ever attempted a reformation? and was this the proper conduct of an infallible head? who only had the sacred deposit committed to his Trust? in this respect,

respect, it was in their power to have exhibited a conduct, that would have been a surer mark of a true christian church, than the whole catalogue summ'd up by *Baronius*, *Ballarmine*, or, &c.

To confirm this reasoning, let me instance in another particularity, MORALITY as treated by the Jesuits, hath been defined and very justly *L'art de chicaner avec Dieu*: their doctrine of *probability and intention* is evidence sufficient against them, and if called upon I am ready to explain my self, and shew how inconsistent it is with the morality of the gospel:—but how ye will say is the Pope answerable for this? what is it to him, how many Jesuits have maintained this doctrine?—yes it is to him: because it is a fact, that in this the Jesuits have always excused themselves by asserting that these impious doctrines, were the worst of them, borrowed from the schoolmen, who were canonised by the Popes, and their books received and authorised by the church of *Rome*.—How is this? did popes in consistory, and *ex cathedra* canonize men who were the authors of such impious tenets? and will ye afterwards pretend to say that they were infallible and incapable of erring? where may we say, has there been one black and wicked act, of any such notoriety as to get a place in history, in which the court of *Rome* had not a share? the contrivers in some, the instigators in others, and the rewarders of them all.—In that fatal instance of as great notoriety as ever hapened, the expulsion of the MOORS out of *Spain*; how did she behave? Dr. *Geddes* tells us on the authority of a book published by one FRANCISCO NAVARRO, and

and dedicated to the king of *Spain*, that by the current opinion of all the *Spanish* divines, the bad success of the *ARMADA* in 1588, was the judgment of God upon their nation for suffering so many apostates to live among them: and that the remarkable conjunction in the heavens in 1603, was declarative of God's intention to make use of their king to destroy the *Mahometan* sect: under *Philip III.* the thing was effected, by the contrivance of don *John de Ribera* patriarch of *Antioch*, and arch-bishop of *Valencia*. The duke of *Lerma* his brother cardinal arch-bishop of *Toledo*, and *Baltazar de Sandoval*, a brother or near relation. Poor *Philip*, the dupe of their wicked policy on his death bed, was overwhelmed with sorrow for this atrocious and cruel act, and expired in the bitterest agonies that a tortured conscience could give: whilst at *Rome*, to prove that the thing was merely and only the result of ecclesiastical Policy, the account was received, with joy and exultation, and the three principal contrivers, all of one family, (a thing says our historian never heard of before) made cardinals at one act.

But why are these facts adduced? what have *Irish* papists to do with acts of violence and cruelty committed in *Spain*? yes! they have to do with them, and with every thing that is the result of their religion; and such facts are very pertinently adduced, to shew, that it is one and the same spirit uniformly working in these children of disobedience that is every where the cause of these effects.

I am disposed as much as they would have me to shorten this debate : to drop for that reason the consideration of many articles which occasionally have been urged to aggravate and blacken the account. I should consent without murmur or remonstrance, that the gunpowder plot, and many other plots charged to them, through the different reigns of the *Stuart* race, should be all buried in oblivion ; nay even that the anniversary forms, should have no place in our calender or liturgy, for in truth I see no good purpose for which they have been kept there so long : such things have been practised in all nations, * but where ever they are perpetuated, are the subjects of ridicule : I am farther free to allow that even in the bloody massacre of 1641, the numbers said to have perished have been incredibly multiplied†, and that after

* The *Jews* on the feast of *Purim*, go to their synagogues to hear the book of *Esther* read : they have *HAMAN's* name graven on a stone, or on wood, and the moment the name is read, they strike it hard against another, crying, *let the name of the villain perish and be blotted out* ; the sense of this ceremony, is as little as the religion of it ; thus perpetuating the memory of what they pretend to wish were forgotten, and feeding that enmity and aversion, which to eradicate, should be the reason and ground of every religious institution : *Picart's* dissertation, vol. iii. p. 213. Out of the many printed discourses which these anniversaries have sent abroad, a strange medley of opinions might be collected ; the credit of the church does not suffer much by them, because few people ever look into them, and the saving to the civil establishment, might be no bad reason for disusing them : which the fashion of the times seems to be running to without any repeal.

† It appears that till the month of *December*, the rebellion had been carried on by mere *Irish*, and was confined to the
F province

after so long penance and such severe retributions, enough to glut in my opinion the keenest appetites for revenge : now that the effects of it have all ceased, and similar ones are no more to be dreaded, these things may and ought to be forgotten. A spirit of placability on one side, is the likeliest way to beget it in the other, and unless it can be shewn that some civil or political good purposes, are indeed served by such observances, they ought for ever to cease.— But the pinch of the controversy does not lye here, nor is the argument for or against them stronger by these concessions : for tho' the numbers should be reduced to 40,000, the lowest sum in the estimate of any historian, and it could be proved that it had been ten-fold retaliated, it neither lessens nor takes out the sting or venom of that religious principle which was *partly* the instigating cause : and our right to bolt the doors, and bar that out, will still subsist, and be reasonable.

Divested now of every party prejudice, if ever I had any, I charge it neither to the Interests, nor principles of Papists singly, but conjunctly to

province of *Ulster*, and that had it not been for the wicked conduct of the Lords Justices, might have been easily suppressed there, and prevented in other places; in that time therefore it was impossible, so many thousands as the contemporary historians all assert could have been massacred. Sir *John Temple's* account exceeds all belief, in so much that it is not clear, whether there were indeed so many Protestants at the time in the whole kingdom, and it is plain that by the fury of Sir *Charles Coote*, and some other commanders; sufficient reprisals were made, and as many with equal barbarity murdered by the *English*. See *Carte's* life of the duke of *Ormond*, and Dr. *Warner's* history of the rebellion.

both

both, and the mind must be strongly tinctured, not to perceive it : they may search and beat about, to find some other cause to which these things may be imputed : in the volume of nature, turn it over, ever so often, where will they find one ? human nature hath no such principles : great art was necessary and had been used to graft them upon it. Could it be reduced to what it was, freely allowed to vegetate and sprout from its own stock, without any impure mixtures to poison the soil, or the rude hand of any bigotted religionist to bend, or misplace the shoots, neither the legislative nor executive powers in any society would have so much work upon their hands, as they have. The evils men feel, are all of them, the effects of bad culture : *men are prompted by their passions*, undoubtedly : but by whom are those passions called out to exercise ? and how is that fuel administered, by which they are inflamed and set in a blaze ? would ye have them quiescent, why do you irritate them ? would you have them to make no wanton sallies, why do ye set improper objects before them, or provoke them by incitements ? go thro' the societies of mankind, examine and sift them with care, for one that is sour, perverse and untameable, ye will find a hundred, gentle, sweet, ductile and pliant : sufficiently so, to be led to every purpose of unaffected piety and virtue.

I do not charge it to popery alone, it was the spirit of religion before popery had being, *Sæpius olim religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta*, but I say, that even if it may be supposed that religion was not the contriver of this bloody massacre, it can never be acquitted of being the executioner, reanimating upon every occasion, as

often as they grew languid and faint, and blowing up, to new and more vigorous efforts, the Spirits of its votaries.

If the *Romish* religion forbids indeed such derangements, whence is it, let their apologists tell us, that where-ever its influence hath been strongest, these derangements have been so many and so remarkable? where are those prohibitions to be seen, or where shall we look for them? in the acts of their councils they are not to be traced; in their *decretals* or *extravagants* now before me, no sign, or vestige of them can be seen: it is to give it no harsher a term, an unhappy dilemma they are in, to be always exposed to the foulest suspicions, and strongest imputations of guilt, and never in a capacity though we are every day calling upon them for it, to produce any one evictive sign of their innocence.—For defects of impotency, they are no more accountable than other men, but armed with *infallibility*, and stronger coercive powers than any other sect ever possessed, the requisite pains to correct and reform, should have born some proportion, to suffer mankind to run on headlong in their vices, to see them tearing and devouring one another, without interposing to stop or restrain them, was certainly out of character, if no worse. The duty of an universal pastor was of another kind, his part was to cry aloud without sparing, to shew the people their transgressions, to be instant in season and out of season, and not to have been all the time, wantonly and wickedly misapplying their power, and mispending their zeal, against harmless and innocent opinions, which perhaps had this only evil in them

them, that some way or other they might have had the effect, of cooling the zeal of their votaries, and thence eventually of derogating from their power, or bringing it into question ; against these, we have often heard the thunders of the vatican roaring very loudly, but no bulls to interdict nor discourage those shameful vices, which not only disfigure but debase human nature.

Now to come to the point : do they imagine that any intelligent Protestant, can ever be imposed upon in a matter of so easy demonstration, as to believe that the spirit of their religion, had no share in the contrivance or the execution of the merciless and bloody acts committed in 1641, &c or that none but an infamous rabble, the lowest and meanest of the people, had a hand in them ? one learned pen * has indeed ventured to give his opinion *that it is weak and uncharitable and unjust to charge such horrid impieties on the principles of the Roman religion, which were merely owing to the cursed hellish dispositions of the particular persons, who gave a loose to them :* and this with such an air of candor might have had weight with his readers, had he not added in another page, *that such are the principles of popery, that no duty of allegiance, no ties of any kind are*

* Dr. Warner's history of the rebellion, p. 202, and 240. compared. This inconsistency is too remarkable to pass without notice, though the author was sorry to find it in a writer of so much general candor, good sense and good temper, the same inconsistency is too palpable, in the author of the trial of the R. C. and though Mrs. M——y's strictures upon the performance are as Mr. Blackburn says, in some respects just and acute, the acrimony of them shews that the spirit of party, will sometimes carry the human mind to as disagreeable extremes, as the spirit of religion.

to stand in competition with the interests of their religion, and of this the doctor has given an egregious proof in the principles avowed by the general synod held by the Irish bishops and clergy in May 1642, at Kilkenny, where the oath of association, in contradiction to the oath of allegiance, was declared to be both lawful and necessary, because commanded by the church and approved by the Pope.

This question seems to me, never to have been truly stated, except in the summary view, exhibited by our best Historian Mr. H——: I have already intimated that interest as well as religion, were the propelling and instigating causes, and I imagine that when the characters and conduct of the first busy actors are carefully attended to, there will be little doubt about it; in the best authenticated accounts ROGER MORE, was the spring and adviser of the whole scheme: what was or what could be his design and motive? undoubtedly, to expel the *English*, and assert the independency of his native country: here was an inviting opportunity, the first and only one that had presented, from the first defeat and surrender of *Tirowen*: the distractions in the *English* government opened the prospect, and in a manner assured success, and the arguments used by him to persuade his countrymen to this revolt. The historian referred to, has summed up and explained with great force, elegance and perspicuity, and to him for brevity I refer the reader.

Here then I say, interest, was the first inspiring motive or cause; religion afterwards became
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the animating and enlivening one, and why their apologists at this day are at the pains of shuffling and equivocating, to hide and conceal this, I neither can assign nor imagine a reason; for considering the manner in which their properties had been wrested from them, and the equally wretched manner in which they were bartered and disposed of, the conduct in the first leading cause was so natural, that had they bounded their passions, and moderated their conduct by the rules of war, then universally obtaining in the states of Europe, there was little in it, for us to wonder at, or for them to blush at. This if we may credit the narrative written by lord *Maguire* in the tower, and delivered to the lieutenant, to be presented to the lords in parliament, was originally the design of the conspirators, to make all the *English* gentry prisoners, but not to kill any but when forced by opposition, that would make it necessary, * and *More's* conduct tallies to this account.

James I. on the charge of treason and rebellion against O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL, had escheated two entire counties, and a wise and notable distribution he made of them, to swill the paunches of *London* aldermen and tradesmen: nor did he stop, till he had escheated four more, where little if any signs of rebellion had appeared: the sufferers, or their immediate descendants were all alive, when the troubles in *England* presented the opportunity of resuming their estates: little more than thirty years had elapsed since the

* See Dr. *Warner's* history, B. i. p. 43. quoted from *Nelson*.

forfeiture,

feiture, they still felt the smart, there was not time to forget the injury. Let then any of us make the case our own, and seriously ask ourselves, what in similar circumstances we probably would have done; our comments and interpretations are generally in our own favour, and as the laws of nations and the laws of Nature are so often at variance, if many of us know what we ought to have done, few of us perhaps know what we would have done.

This *Roger More* in the interpretation of law, a rebel, stands acquitted to posterity, of tyranny bigotry and cruelty. From generosity and the soft sympathising feelings of humanity, when he heard of the barbarities exercised by Sir *Pbelim O'Neil*, he abandoned the cause, he had influence enough to set them on, but not to keep them within bounds, or to call them back, and for that deserted not only the cause but the kingdom. This proves that credit is due to *Maguire's* narrative. His discretion had no more effect than his dissuatives: his associates went on with the same intemperate zeal, and as often as the spirit of their followers seemed in any degree to cool or abate, new motives were urged to invigorate and renew it; the sacred voice of religion resounded in their ears, exhorting them with greater fierceness to redouble the blows.

Who were *More's* associates? Sir *Pbelim O'Neil*, lord *Maguire* and most of the *Irish* chiefs were the ringleaders, who were no ignorant or uninformed rabble: by what spirit were the lord *Gormanstown* and other lords of the pale actuated,

ed, and brought into it? they who at first pretended to blame and condemn it, who applied to government for arms, and promised to use them in defence of it: in most other cases, that I have read of, interest as often as there has been a competition, has proved an overmatch for religion; here religion seems plainly to have overpowered it: in those lords of the pale some latent attachment to the *English* government, might naturally be supposed strong enough to keep them from desiring that the national subjection, should ever be totally and finally cancelled: they held their estates by a different tenure from the native *Irish*, and would hardly suppose that if the scheme had full accomplishment and effect, that the first proprietors would not have renewed and reasserted their claim in opposition to any right from prescription, which began in force: why then did they so soon join the rebels, and afterwards in every species of cruelty, rival, if not out-do the conspirators? the evidence is not to be dissembled, nor can it be varnished: what then is there to account for all the bitter effects in the progress of it, but that wicked demon the spirit of their religion. *Cardinal Richieu*, in the encouragement and assistance he gave them might have acted upon views merely political, to distress and weaken a rival power, but even in him, we can with difficulty believe, that the spirit of his religion, did not combine and solicit with equal force in behalf of these detestable insurgents.

Had these people seeing the distress to which their lawful sovereign was reduced, and foreseeing the approaching period of the constitution
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combined to relieve him, and restore the laws to their just prerogative in opposition to every arbitrary invasion from court or parliament, they had a noble opportunity, and might have been the instruments of providence, and stood foremost in our annals in glory and renown; acting under the impressions of solid virtue and sincere religion, this had been their part: But in the course they took, there was nothing to animate and push them on, but what hath been already perhaps too often repeated: because nothing is or can be more irksome, than the conviction without naming it, that religion was either in the beginning or progress of that rebellion, the end or motive, and yet is now abundantly proved to have been both.

Here let me ask them again to what part of history may we turn our eyes and thoughts, without viewing many equally odious, specimens of the same impious tenets and doctrines maintained and propagated by the church of *Rome*, volumes might be crowded with them.—* A Cistercian monk being asked by a Crusader against the *Albigenses*, whether at taking the city of BEZEIN they should put all to the sword, or spare those who pretended to be Catholics: answered ALL: it being said he, impossible to distinguish in that way who were true and who only pretended sons of the church, therefore they were to leave them to God, who knew his own and would reward them in the next world. Exactly in the style and spirit of

* Geddes, vol. 1. p. 84.

Pius 4. who in the *Index* composed by the office in 1559 would not in the catalogue have one book excepted for a reason alledged to him, by BECATELLI, That it was better a thousand books against which no objection lay, should be forbid, than one be permitted which deserved to be *prohibited* * and did not CON. O' MAHONY an *Irish* jesuit, give the same advice to the *Irish* Papists? this man in a book printed at *Lisbon* 1645, after falsely boasting, that between the year 1641, and the year he was writing in, the *Irish* had massacred about one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants, advised then to go on till they had killed all the rest, and DISPATCHED EVEN THE KING, † after reading this account, who will say that religious zeal did not in this instance cooperate to heighten the national prejudices, and inflame their animosities? and I can think of but one thing that can be offered in abatement, that the phrenzy which then seized them, must have borrowed part of its impetuosity from the apprehension, that by the violence of the puritanical party, running on at the time with so much fury in *England*, and seconded by all the power that was in the hands of the kings de-

* Father Paul, B. 6.

† Who after reading this account will dare hereafter to load the memory of the unfortunate *Charles I.* with being privy to the black design, or encouraging it in its progress; when here is a full and convincing proof, that he in person was in the list of the proscribed, doomed to be the bleeding victim of their cruelty: Mr. *Hume*, upon this article, hath summ'd up the evidence *pro* and *con*, with great niceness and perspicuity, had this come in his way, or rather had he thought of it, it would not I imagine have been omitted.

puties

puties here, their religion would be totally and speedily extinguished, as every day fresh alarms resounded in their ears from *England*, of the fury expressed by the Commons against all Papists.

But say that our reasoning upon this article may be liable to some slight abatements, which may escape me, what will these apologists say to the conduct of their popes, in the reigns of MARY and ELIZABETH! doth the spirit of their religion stand confessed here, or doth it not? what disguise did it either affect or wear? were any arts used to varnish or hide it? if the sweetness of POLE's temper, was such as the current of historians say, it was proof against the principles of his religion, and not to be soured by the doctrine in mode, abundant recompence was made by the spirit uniformly exerted at *Rome*, and copied in *England* by these who presided in *Mary's* councils, and had the keeping of her conscience: from his disavowing therefore all violent proceedings, what are we to infer? not what the apologist would have us, nor indeed what the author of the considerations would have us: his example will not disculpate the R. C. religion from the horrid doctrines charged upon it by protestants, nor will it follow that if he had disavowed them, it was in his power to put a stop to them. Whatever might have been the tenor of the first BULL, by which his legantine power was conveyed; certain it is that in the *Breves* which came after, his powers were limited by an express saving of such things as for the importance of them, should seem fit for the holy see to be consulted in it: even without

out this limitation his moderate councils would probably have been over-born by the zeal of BONNER: who knew as well as he what his instructions from *Rome* were, and what would be most acceptable to the violent temper of the haughty pontiff: whether *Pole* was in the secret of the design to introduce the inquisition does not appear; if he was as he acted in most things in conformity to the will of the emperor, and by his directions, it is probable he was against it: for he, we know, apparently leaning to better principles towards the close of his life, did counteract and prevent that scheme.

But I should be glad to know, though the current of historians is so strong in *Pole's* favour, what authority there is for these fine encomiums upon his temper and moderation; if I can rely upon the account now before me, I have evidence of a contrary disposition; some essays he undoubtedly made to stop the precipitancy of *Mary's* councils: at a time that seventeen at once were sentenced to the fire, he obtained pardon for two, whom he had persuaded to abjure; but we find notwithstanding, that in 1557 he had given orders for hereticks to be proceeded against, even in his own diocese, and *July* 7th, of that year, sent a *significavit* of some to be delivered over to the secular arm. I say this upon the authority of Dr. *Burnet*, far, in my esteem, from deserving the character of an impartial historian, but in a fact of such notoriety, he may, I should think, be relied on, and thence a suspicion arises that *Pole's* general character, hath been the subject of more encomium than in strictness was due to it: the sentiments of cotemporaries are not always just, and
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after them the pencils of historians are apt to deviate; there is often a complexional placid air and manner that is mistaken for the thing it represents, and where it is accompanied with an inward propensity to ease and quiet, we are not to wonder that it passes upon the world for meekness and benevolence: be this as it may, for the reader is to form his own judgment on the case, what argument I pray can be drawn from it, to exculpate their religion from the horrid doctrines charged to it by Protestants: they have happy talents indeed who can discover any force or solidity in it: there is I confess a native sweetness and benignity, that is proof against any bad principles grafted upon it, never to be soured nor wrought up to any fierceness or intemperance, it seems to have been the case of ROGER MORE, already mentioned, and might have been of more in those days of horror: he as a politician, was for seizing the opportunity of recovering their lost possessions, &c. He advised, he instigated the fatal measure, but shocked with the barbarities he saw and heard of, after remonstrating and dissuading ineffectually, he broke off and deserted them. There may be many Papists at this day, who would act the same humane and religious part, I am confident I know some, but when all advantage is made of this concession, that can be made of it, what can be drawn from it in favour of a religion, the fundamental maxims of which speak a contradictory language, without leaving its votaries any liberty of receding, or even of softening its dictates.

I am not surprised to find men acting under ties too hard often for nature to loosen or dissolve, in their defences and apologies, artfully skipping over every

every material circumstance which makes against them, and in laboured strains blazoning, and descanting upon every little incident, that by any artful turn may be modelled into a form, that will give it weight and currency with such readers, as content themselves with slight and superficial views of every thing that comes before them : but when these essays come thick upon us, as of late they have, the maintainers of the sound and only orthodox scheme of Christianity, (amongst whom I reckon only those who stand upon the one unvarying principle of reformation,) are then summoned and called out to withstand them : to follow them through all their intricacies and windings, to detect the fallacies of their reasoning, to strip off the disguises of false coloring, and by a strict and conscientious regard to historical truth, not always easy to come at, to state and expose every fact in that just light from which alone arguments on either side can lead to conviction, where inquirers are ingenuous and sincere.

A remarkable instance of what I have observed offers, from a passage in the last apology printed in *London*, and reprinted here, not taken notice of by the author of the considerations. In going over the several reigns from the beginning of the reformation, the author in the reign of queen *Mary*, could not find any thing that deserved a place in his detail, in one short paragraph all is summed up that he had to say about it. All that *she* poor harmless woman did, was only to abrogate such acts of her father and brother, as tended to the disadvantage of the Catholick religion, what mighty crime could there be in this ? did it not argue
great

great mildness and moderation, that she did no more? and yet how strangely have Protestants blackened the memory of this unfortunate princess, whose only fault, for this is all they can charge to her, was that being *herself* a Catholick, she manumitted and set free her subjects of the same profession.

Such not improbably is, or would be the judgment of many of his readers after going over the account: but I must stop to ask him and them whether this was either candid or fair? and whether in justice to his readers, Catholick or Protestant, he ought not to have protracted the page till he had told them, that by abrogating those acts of her father and brother, made in the most degenerate days of popery, when the pope was in the zenith of his power, when neither subjects nor princes dared to say a word against it: by which laws every thing was heresy that contradicted any tenet or rite of the R. church, and every heretick was delivered over to Satan, to be burned in this world and damned in the next, were revived and set loose, which immediately filled up the prisons and lighted up fires in every part of the kingdom, wherein multitudes of innocent victims were tortured and consumed.

Had he, I say, laid these things honestly and fairly before his reader: he undoubtedly saw the judgment would be passed upon it, passengers instead of stopping to admire the beauty of the representation, affrighted would start back and turn away from it with disgust and horror: or even stragling Papists here and there, might have conceived such dislike, as would have operated to their conversion:

his

his part therefore was to let down the curtain and hide the scenes, in which he shewed indeed some mastery and skill. But these mean and unmanly arts as often as we trace them, unavoidably raise sentiments of pity for the unhappy tribes that follow them: many of them, I charitably believe, have no other reason for obstinacy than blindness: interest is rarely a motive with them, it operates, though too weakly, on the other side. Truth is industriously concealed and kept out of their way, as in the instance before us, and they are incompetent judges, only because they are not competently informed: did they see these things, were they duly represented or laid before them, were they even permitted to come in their way, their prejudices here and there I am confident would gradually give way; and the harvest, though the labourers are so few, would be much greater than it is.

In this view it may not be improper to take notice of what another of their apologists * hath with greater ingenuity observed, upon the matter before us: speaking of the transactions of this reign: *Mary's councils were not governed, says he, even by good policy, but by SPIRITUAL REVENGE*; by the vilest most detestable passion that ever agitated the human heart: I mention it for his honor, in proof of his candor: it is emphatic and pithy, and human language could not invent an epithet more expressive, or that paints in stronger or more inodious colors, the spirit and principles by which every thing was then conducted: I

* Seasonable thoughts, *Dub.* 1735.

dwell upon it with delight ; and am only puzzled to account by what unhappy motives or means this sprightly entertaining author was restrained from pursuing the observation, by informing his readers of what surely must have occurred to him in the course of his researches, that this was the true and real character of Popery, the indicative sign by which it stands distinguished, from that original from which it pretends to derive, and to be a transcript or copy of.

The case of the first author plainly was, that he had a more favorite object in view, which he was in haste to get at : to have loitered here was not for his purpose : he was impatient to throw out his invectives against *Elizabeth* : and there (though he could see no occasion for it, in her sister's reign) he collects and lays before his reader every act of severity, that he could find, or lay a finger upon, and we hear of nothing but the *prosecutions of Protestants against Catholicks, so many divers penalties, forfeitures, disabilities and inconveniences, such as no body of subjects was ever yet treated with in any state* * : in the same spirit of candor he goes on to inform us “ that *Elizabeth's* religion was all a
 “ state trick, that duplicity and cunning were the
 “ only arts she excelled in, and in her private
 “ sentiments was more devoted to the Catholick,
 “ than to the Protestant religion ; her Catholicity
 “ only marr'd by the impolitic procedure of the
 “ old hot-headed pontiff, *Paul IV*”.

The author with as little judgment as sincerity, hath singled out two instances to lead his readers

* Apol.

to these opinions: (1.) Her maintaining, as he affirms, *the doctrine of the Real Presence, little differing from Transubstantiation*: And, a (2.) exhibited in the first act of her reign, by *dispatching an ambassador to the court of Rome to notify her accession to the throne*.

As to the 1st, the doctrine of the *Real Presence* was indeed the common test of orthodoxy in *Mary's* reign, the point upon which all suspected of heresy were usually first interrogated. This net, it is true, was spread to catch *Elizabeth*, but the art by which she eluded the curiosity of her enemies is well known, and will be read as long as any records of the nation are preserved in the famous rhymes, in which she chose (not daring to speak plainer when her life was at hazard) to express herself in, and the evidence from it, in the situation she then was, is sufficiently clear, that she did not maintain that article of the Roman Faith.

As to the 2d, it is a palpable falshood: *She dispatched no envoy to Rome*, Sir *Edward Carne* had been there in character of resident Envoy since the year 1555, when he had been sent with the bishop of *Ely* and lord *Montacute*, by *Mary*, to tender the submission of *England*, and their request to be re-admitted to the bosom of the church: to him indeed she did write, and ordered him to notify

Christ was the word that spake it,

He took the bread and brake it,

And what that Word did make it,

That I believe, and take it.

her accession to the crown ||. And this is the true state of the fact, and I want to know how it impeaches her sincerity as a Protestant? how was this a symptom of any secret inclination to popery? It was politic no doubt, and prudent, but it was such a step as if she had not taken, she would have shewn herself very ill qualified for the work she had upon her hands, and must necessarily accomplish to secure herself and the other important events she had in view: she very well knew what jealousies were entertained of her there; and what she had to expect from that quarter; therefore, till she was well fixed, and settled in the affections of her subjects, in a matter of mere ceremony, customarily observed by all princes, by any meditated flight, or contemptuous oversight, to have passed by his holiness, would have been inexcusable imprudence: what part I would fain know, would the writer have her act in such a delicate conjuncture? he will not surely say, that in order to be honest, it is always necessary to be a fool? and can any thing be more impertinent than such accusations from the pen of a writer who, a few pages before, had acknowledged, that the resolution had been taken to put her to death, as one from whom future mischiefs to the established religion were to be apprehended, and that she was saved only by the policy of *Philip*, who, as some historians say, was so bigotted as to take pleasure in seeing hereticks burned in his presence, and was restrained from burning his father's bones for his suspected heresy, only by the consideration, that if his father was a heretic, he had consequent-

ly forfeited, and so could have no right to resign his crown to him * : I don't vouch the story, but the unamiable view in which it sets the spirit of bigotry, may in some degree be edifying to both Popish and Protestant readers: let neither imagine, *that by lying or malicious invective any service can be done to religion.* Their triumphs, thank God, are at an end, without any prospect of reviving in haste: they who are eventually the instruments of conveying this blessing, had perhaps as little respect to our religion as to theirs, and meant possibly, the subversion of both; but come from whom or how it would, we have reason to rejoice in the event: could the divided sects of Christianity, (who have all of them more or less to answer for, on this account,) once agree, could Roman Catholics in particular be brought to see the folly of not agreeing to it, to make this *one mark of a true church*, and the first criterion of orthodoxy, how little would there afterwards be, that any wise and honest man would think worth quarrelling about? what could hinder them one and all from sitting down in peace, cordially greeting and embracing one another, as often as business or diversion brought them together, little respecting local opinions, where national and social interests were the same, without any anxious fears that the common safety would be ever endangered.

* Bayle art. Char. 5. Rem. R. tells this on the authority of Brantom, and Burnet quotes Mezeray for it, who indeed has it, but with this stricture, *puisque si on le croit quelques uns*: he confutes it however in another place, by telling us what great respect Philip paid to his father at his interment: chron. abridg. anno 1559.

One thing I rely upon, that if this happy event is ever to succeed, the governing party in every state must lead the *van* and shew the way. There it must begin, by them the experiment must be made, how far generosity, mildness and forbearance, will work and win the alienated tempers of those who, right or wrong, complain of disabilities and restraints.

To this my little labours are calculated, not from any arrogance of opinion that I am better qualified or as well as many others, who may be have not been so long in the vineyard, but that like the poor widow in the parable, into the common treasury would be glad to throw my mite: far from having any pleasure in the scenes I have traversed, with pain I have gone over them, and with all the haste I can, so as not to straggle or lose my way; they themselves by their injudicious defence, and apologies have forced me to it, and it is from real kindness I now tell them, that this is a part of their conduct which they must reform. When they sue for grace, they must use the language of penitents: with such a cloud of witnesses against them why will they pretend to say, that the spirit of their religion is not exemplified in their practices? after so many remarkable deviations and changes from primitive Apostolical doctrine, why are they so disingenuous and immodest as to say, that it is still the first, pure and uncorrupted religion of Jesus, which they profess? If that religion forbids all violence and force, all *ebicanery*, *lying* and *forgery*, why in the acts of every Catholick council, and in the annals of every pope and popish prince, in a course of nine or
ten

ten centuries, are there so many glaring proofs of their non-conformity to those leading principles, and that it is only when they happen themselves to be the sufferers, that they have ever been heard to speak in their defence? Had they in the review of the barbarities committed in *Mary's* reign, shewn any regard to truth in their representations, any symptoms of remorse or shame for the errors of their forefathers, here I had with pleasure stopt, without enlarging the prospect: but since they have not done this, nor won't do this; how should we stand excused to ourselves or to them, if we did not lead them back to those earlier times where the wicked principles imputed to them wore no disguise, and which are the precedents upon which their whole conduct hath been modelled, and ever since invariably proceeded.

Go back to the acts of the council of *Constantinople* in the eleventh century, and to those of *Lateran* in the thirteenth, anno. 1215, where it was decreed, that all heretics convict should be burned, or without conviction destroyed by fire and sword, and every Christian commanded to endeavour this to the utmost of their power, *sicut reputari cupiunt & haberi fideles*, as they desire to be reputed, or accounted Christians: and then tell me whether this be the doctrine of their religion: and if this be Christianity, let them go back to that equally infamous council of *Constance* in the fifteenth century, anno 1414, and advert to the pitiable and bitter sufferings of that harmless man, *JOHN HUSS*, and that more timid but not worse meaning man *Jerome* of *Prague*, even after safe conduct promised to the first on the faith of an emperor: I am not fond of swelling the catalogue,
and

and therefore for variety of other instances chuse to refer them in the gross to M. *Fleury's* ecclesiastical history, and Mr. *Bower's* lives of the popes, where I would have them in particular throw their eye to that remarkable Bull, *CÆNA DOMINI*, published every year on *Maunday Thursday* at *Rome*, and read always in the pope's presence, stuffed with various execrations against heretics who oppose the holy see, or in any manner impede the exercise of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

It would oblige us if these popish apologists would tell us, what the distinguishing marks are by which the doctrines of their church are to be known; which are spurious and illegitimate, and which genuine: some among them I would hope there may be of more candor, who will scorn to quibble, and play fast and loose, as the writer now before us hath done: the last mentioned article, so strongly objected to them by the author of the considerations, might have been passed over by me did it not give demonstration against them, that this is a doctrine of their religion: they might as well say that the *Athanasian* creed is not a doctrine of their religion, because some of her members do not like it, or consent to it, and that it is ordered to be read only on stated days: let them take the argument in syllogistic form, and see what they can make of it.

The doctrines of any church are the doctrines of their religion.

But persecution is the doctrine of the R. catholic church,

Therefore persecution is the doctrine of their Religion.

The

The Christian religion forbids persecution ;
 But the church of *Rome* authorises and commands persecution :
 Therefore the religion of the church of *Rome* is not the Christian religion.

If neither major nor minor, in either, can be denied, the conclusion must be valid.

Some Protestants relying, perhaps too fondly, on what others had affirmed before them, have charged this council of *Constance* with *decreeing, that no faith was to be kept with heretics*. But this I own is a point in which I dare not be positive, as the acts of the council are not before me : Catholics in general, I know, disclaim the tenet ; and this last apologist flatly asserts that it is absolutely false : I can therefore only say upon the authority of *Dupin*, that when application in favour of *Huss* was made to the council to set him at liberty, because of the faith given by the emperor : the council made answer, *that he had been cited to Rome and excommunicated there before that safe conduct had been granted, so could not have the benefit of it*.

This it is true doth not amount to a direct avowal of the doctrine, but it is very like it, in the opinion of most readers I fancy will be thought tantamount, at least it will vindicate the judgment of *John 23*, who was deposed there ; this noted pope had been in his youth a PIRATE, and had changed his profession, said my author †, without

† *Vertot's knights of Malta*.

changing his manners, his name was *Baltassar Cossa*; it is told of him that coming in view of the town where the council was assembled, he said to those who accompanied him, *Voila la fosse ou l'on prend les renards*. There he foresaw he was to be deposed, and though his pretensions to any favourable sentence were very little, he well knew from the temper and principles of ecclesiastics, from the maxims of such assemblies, and the interfering politics of princes interested in their decisions, that little respect would be paid to his pretensions, to right, or to the merits of the case: there was indeed some tartness in the rally, but he might have been answered by the *French* proverb, *le Renard preche aux poules*, the Devil rebukes sin: for if it is not to be found in their canons it is in all, or most of their casuists, especially of the Jesuitical school, always in greatest favour at the court of *Rome*, and if the reader has curiosity to see how this is, let him consult *Tambourin*, *Sanchez*, &c. and consider what they have written about the doctrine of intention and the obligation of oaths.

There is another article, to which as often as it is objected, they always plead not *guilty*, viz. the doctrine of deposing kings, and absolving subjects from their obedience, dispensing with their oaths, &c. to specify the names and enumerate the instances where and when these have been severally practised, would not be difficult, but to me they appear, I own at any time to have been merely papal usurpations, when there was none strong enough who dared to contradict them, so that the guilt and scandal of them ought perhaps to lie only at their door. The church by any publick act, does not appear

to have made at any time, open profession of them, they were in general too politic for this, and only exerted these powers now and then as occasion invited, and as the times would bear : They were as *Tillotson* observes a kind of engines, *to be screwed up or let down as occasion served*, LIKE GOLIAH'S SWORD, that was kept in the sanctuary behind an ephod, not to be seized in frolic to vapour with, but to be unsheathed, and lent out only when the high priest had a mind, and it could be wielded with effect.

The last public instance of a pope's dispensing with the oath of a prince, was as *Burnet* says, to persuade the king of *France* to break his truce with *Spain* which had been mutually agreed between the crowns for five years, and sworn to by both, anno 1556, and this was openly transacted by a *legate a latere* sent on purpose. Since that time the farce hath been discontinued ; it was indeed time to lower their flag, when there was no one to strike to it, and at present they say, I hope sincerely *that they are very sorry for these things, and ashamed of them*, * we cannot however for all this go as far as our apologist would have us, for if an attack is to be made upon nothing but what is confessed on both sides, their abuses and corruptions must all be forgot as well as this, the term perhaps may not be very far off, when they will be so : as fast as they are pleased to drop them ; Protestants ought and will be content to forget them, I see reason however to suspect, that it will not be the result of his labors.

* So the apologist.

This gentleman hath given us to understand that he is no ecclesiastick if he had not told us so, I would not have believed it, and for his own sake I am sorry for it, because such a thorough paced advocate, I have seldom seen: in the matter before us to shew how expert he is, he is content to take both sides of the question: after confessing that persecution and intolerance in every degree are antichristian, repugnant to every law of nature and reason, in the same breath he will maintain, that in respect of the *albigenses*, against whom the inquisition was first instituted, *it was a necessary, and justifiable measure, which all Protestants* (very few excepted he thinks) *will consent to, and agree to renounce any affinity with such pests of society.*

Such a jumble of falshood and inconsistency, I have seldom seen put together: that it is so, the reader will easily observe, but there are reasons which make it proper, indeed necessary, to take some farther notice of it.

If any species of impiety or irreligion may be thought to deserve the chastisement of penal laws, idolatry must certainly be one: for this reason, that it is not only in its self, abstracted from its effects, a crime of the foulest and most offensive nature, but leads to the corruption of all morals; and yet if the notion of the jewish state being intirely theocratical, is put out of question, it may be doubted, whether the severity with which this sin was punished by that law, was even there strictly defensible: under the Christian dispensation, the opinion in mode is, that

that it ought to pass in the croud of those things which are not cognisable by the civil magistrate, and out of the reach of any social, or civil ordinance, where no civil crime is annexed, or consequent to it: now the gentleman whom I have here to deal with does contend, that as the charge of idolatry against Papists, is only supposed, as he says, without proof on one side, and flatly denied on the other, it cannot, nor ought not to affect them. I think so as well as he, I have given them the benefit of this plea already; but then by parity of reason he must in his turn yield to me, that if the *Albigensis* could have been proved to hold every error, which he by the insufficient evidence of very suspected witnesses, hath cram'd into their creed, they stand upon as fair footing, and are as little obnoxious to persecution as Catholics themselves: equally by his account, much more by mine; because if there is indeed any religious opinion or principle which ought to be proscribed, and driven out of society, it is only the dogm upon which this is maintained. He only who asserts the principle, hath no right to complain of it, when the evil falls upon him: he that is intolerant hath no right to toleration: for maintaining it, every man has a right to retaliate as often as he has opportunity.

The gentleman bears so few marks of candor or regard to historical Truth, that I doubt I shall ineffectually call upon him to reconsider the insufficiency of his evidence, my appeal therefore here is to those of the profession who have more. His two monks CITEAUX and VAUX CERNEY, I will take his word for it have related these things; but will that I ask them in general excuse him

him for retailing them? I could hardly have imagined had I not met with this, that there had been a modern of any erudition in any part of Europe at this day, weak and wicked enough to cite or give credit to such idle and senseless tales. Who was it that told him that these *Albigenses*, were in general a regular and austere people, who declared utter aversion to all lies and swearing: probably the identical monks *Alanus* and *Peter*, his vouchers for the other part of the story: then why could not he with the sense God hath given him, putting the two accounts together, have seen that they were incompatible: and that if the later (least to be suspected because coming from an enemy) was true, the first must be false? or that if in his judgment both might be credited, yet still the inference he was drawing would not hold; because, men of such simplicity of manners, and regularity of life, were not, ought not to be the objects of resentment or hatred; seeing their doctrines and opinions could hurt none but themselves.

But they were Manicheans and Arians held two principles, and two Christs, &c. Say it were so, of which however there is no proof; why are they to be renounced as pests, and driven from society, as long as they were sober, inoffensive, harmless, &c. which is acknowledged: the rights of humanity were still due to them: it is only when men arrogate those privileges to themselves, and deny them to others, that they were properly reputed, and ought to be treated as pests: in the case therefore before us, if any Protestant subscribes to his opinion, and acknowledges that the institution of an *inquisition*, was a necessary

a necessary, or justifiable measure, he is neither of us nor for us, *Non nostri generis, nec seculi*, and I would advise him to throw off his cloke, for fear of being overtaken in his hypocrisy, and make what haste he can into the bosom of that church, which only hath a right to him and will own him.

Were I of council with Catholics I would advise them to disavow such apologists, and to take some more prudent and justifiable course, than what this writer endeavours to lead them in; I am writing a plea for them, but not an apology: and therefore must offer this salutary advice to leave off this stale trick, of characterising the adversaries of their faith, in all the blackest colours they can invent, dressing them up in *san benitos*, and loading them with groundless imputations; in all cases as often as they have tried it, it has done them more hurt than service; it is at best but a base imitation of a very infamous example set long ago by their pagan predecessors; exactly the same arts were used to blacken and defame the *Hugonots* in *France*, in the beginning of the reformation: in the calm recesses of night, these poor people dared only to meet to chant their Hymns, and offer up to God their prayers and praises in their own mode: at these meetings the spies suborned by the *inquisitor general* bore witness says *Mezeray* *, that their way was to roast a paschal lamb, and after eating it to put out the lights, and commit the most detestable obscenities: this report diffused

* Les denonciateurs cussent este convaincus de mesonge. Abrig. Croinque.

and

and industriously propagated, had so far the desired effect, that it was believed by the vulgar, who thought the unhappy sufferers had only the just recompence of their impiety : but the same author though a Catholic had too much sense and candor, either to believe those things himself or by his manner of relating them to give them any credit with his reader ; in plain terms he tells you the falshood of the accusation had been detected by the chancellor.

The truth is that they and their precursors the *Albigensis* were both alike guilty of the heresies imputed to them, (and it is friendly to remind every espouser of the Catholic cause) that it's reputation would stand at less hazard, by owning ingenuously that the ground of the spight against these poor people was not for being *Manicheans*, or *Arians* : but for their denying purgatory, prayers for the dead, the sacraments of the church, and their contempt of images and relics : Protestants are as easily imposed on as other people, but against imposition of this kind they have had such frequent warning, and been so long on their guard, that they will hardly be the dupes of them hereafter. Besides it is not the style or language of apologists, it hath too much the air of banter and ridicule, a thing in their circumstances extremely imprudent : it is not the way to have their past follies either forgot or forgiven.

To palliate as well as they may, the evil spirit of popery, a distinction is framed between religious and political persecution ; whereof the first it is said, very unjustly bears the blame,
and

and the second was redundant, and improperly it is confessed called in aid of the other: if however we consider the thing as it is in itself, we shall be convinced that the distinction is groundless, and ought not to be admitted, and that if there is any real difference, it is no more than may be said to be between a judge and a hangman: who in no case is ever charged with the illegality of the sentence, or the severity of the prosecution, nor thought to incur guilt, except where to satisfy some base passion of his own he hath officiously intruded, or shewn he had pleasure in the discharge of it.

The design of the argument formed upon this distinction, is to prove that the *Pope's* supremacy is a consequence of the powers conferred by Christ, first to his apostles and by them handed over to their successors, and by them regularly and uniformly exercised during the two or three first centuries: and then as a corollary from this, that the abuses which afterwards obtained, and have been so often the subjects of complaint since, had most of them taken place, before the church of *Rome* had got such ascendancy as was necessary to give them the advantage, or indeed the form of an establishment. Whence they infer, and this apologist in particular would have us to believe, that neither the church of *Rome*, nor the religion taught by her is to be charged with these abuses, nor in any degree answerable for them.

To all this plausible discourse I reply with candor, that he has here hit upon the fountain from whence all those bitter waters issued, which

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dividing

dividing into so many streams at last overwhelmed the world: Protestants and Papists are not for all this reconciled, we stand at as great distance, in the only important question as ever, because, as hath been proved against them an hundred times, and might be again, if going into the controversy was necessary, it was not from the original powers given by Christ, to his apostles, nor to any thing in the nature of them: * that these corruptions took their rise, but from wilful misconstruction, a designed perverse misapplication of them; and tho' the abuse had begun ever so early, his conclusion will be as ill warranted as ever: no precedents can ever authorise the claim, or the use of powers, which are not in the original charter, and are apparently incompatible with the general plan and design of the institution.

The government of the church in the first ages of Christianity, in most places took its form from what had obtained, and been settled in the cities and districts where it was planted, in some it was *monarchial*, in others *democratical*: but whether this was accidental, or the result of design and choice, I do not take upon me to determine: I only say that howsoever it happened it was right, it was a wise procedure, and obtaining universally had produced: tter and more lasting effects. By not attending to it, what blundering and bung-

* In the appendix is a letter to the author upon the subject, of this and the following page, which as it may be the subject of enquiry to some readers, and thus he cannot be supposed to answer for its soundness or orthodoxy, as it plainly contradicts what is here asserted, he has for their sakes made public, with the ingenious writer's consent.

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ling did the reformers in many parts of *Germany*, (I think in all except *Geneva*, *France*, *Holland* and *Switzerland*) and in *Scotland* make, idly and wantonly making a total change in the form of one without offering any alteration in the other. Strange it is, that they did not see that by this odd behaviour, they ran most of them into the great absurdity, of *imperium in imperio*, which hath so often since been objected, and foolishly charged, to those who indeed were least liable to it, and who are now entirely purged of it: to confine our observations to a neighbouring church, (for it would be too wide a field to consider the case of foreign Protestants) we may say that had * *Knox* been qualified with understanding equal to his zeal, he would after the example of his master *Calvin*, have changed his plan, (if indeed he had any,) and like him have had the honour of being in some degree founder of a common wealth, as well as of a church: plainly he had the passions of the people so much at his devotion, that

* The reader by looking over the introduct. disc. to the *Cod. Jur. Eccles. Angl.* will easily discern the writers reason for speaking to this subject in the manner he hath: he looks back with regret at the pains taken by that great prelate to revive a system so ill suited to the constitution of his country, as it hath stood ever since the revolution. The principles he reasons upon and his arguments are exactly the same with those of the author before us, neither the principles of the reformation, nor the reasons of a good protestant. Dr. *Atterbury* in answer to *Wake*, (*Rights of the convocation*) followed the same clue, come from whom they will they are indefensible: there is no middle way between popery and protestantism, whoever will abide by these principles must give up to the Papists the principal thing in controversy between us: what signifies arguing on particularities, if the power by which they are imposed is admitted and established? See p. 13 17. 18. 30. 31. 32. of the preface.

had he known how to go about it, he might have done it, had the magistrates here taken the lead as they did in *England*, such harmony and consent between the two kingdoms would probably have obtained, as would have made it impossible, for the Popish interest at any time after to have had any considerable weight or influence.

However that was or might have been, this is undeniably plain, that in places where christianity was first taught and received, whatever the forms of church government were: the jurisdiction of the church, whether for oeconomy, discipline, or correction, did not reside solely in the clergy: the laity in all places had a share, and the whole body of believers included in the idea of a church had (almost in every thing) a right of suffrage and assent. In this way, for a considerable time matters were conducted, and thus had they contentedly gone on without claiming an independent jurisdiction, arrogating more or greater powers, than were vested in them by the original commission, they might for aught I can see have proceeded without let, or molestation to the end of the world: who would have obstructed a power, that interfered with no other, nor did no hurt? the kingdoms of this world had never fought against a kingdom that was not of this world: in most cases the opposition they met with was the effect of their own tampering in matters that did not belong to them: when they trespassed and went out of the bounds which scripture and reason had prescribed, what could they expect, but to have their demands traversed and disputed? to me the wonder is notwithstanding their early successes, that
their

their usurpations got to such a head, or lasted so long.

Now we evidently see, though we cannot so well guess the reasons of it, that the first dawn of power in the smiles of imperial favour, unfolded and gave vent to the ambition that had been lurking within : the first essays in the disguise of modesty and sanctity began we may suppose, in soothing and flattering pretences : “ how
 “ could the disjointed or feebly connected states
 “ of a mighty empire be maintained in quiet
 “ without uniformity ? how could uniformity
 “ be kept up without joining the secular to the
 “ spiritual sword ? from diversity of opinions what
 “ could ensue but dissension and strife ? when
 “ dissension and strife grew intemperate and
 “ high, how ineffectually would the little powers conferred by Christ operate to compose
 “ and allay it ? ”

By such like plausible insinuations seasonably timed, and frequently repeated, very probable it is, that princes were at first induced to grant to the clergy those powers by which they at last topped and triumphed over their own. Hence those laws which are yet to be seen in the *Justinian and Theodosian Codes*, by which bishops were empowered to confiscate the effects, and send into exile the persons of such as they should condemn for heresy, or other causes : and thence at last, that more despotic, that grinding and peeling power of popes, by which
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the whole world was subdued, and brought into bondage to the see of *Rome*: and to perpetuate the slavery, that irresistible engine the *inquisition* in the language of *Paul* the IV. the only *ram* to beat down heresy, and defend the *apostolic* See was contrived and set in motion*.

• *Father Paul*, book 5.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

DO the bulk of R. C. in *Ireland* know any thing of the history of this court? have they ever been informed of its uses? how it obtained in the several states, where it is still seen under the form of an establishment, though in a weak and expiring condition? They do not: and may we not imagine if they did they would not be so attached to their universal pastors, whose engine it was: or conceive so high an opinion of their sanctity and righteousness? might not some of them after being told of it, be apt to suspect, that they have not been very honestly dealt with at all times, or in all matters: and may we not hope that these papers may fall into the hands of some of them, and that it will not be throwing words into the air only, if we offer here to their view a short abstract of its rise and progress.

The time of its commencement historians are generally agreed was in the twelfth century under pope *Innocent III.* and the reason of the institution then assigned, was to put an end to the disputes which of a good while had subsisted between the bishops and secular judges, to which, of right, the power of punishing heretics belonged; by *Innocent* the jurisdiction was granted first to the religious of the order of *Citcaux* †, who were joined

† *Pierre de Chateneuf* moine de *Citcaux*, le premier qui exerça l'inquisition Mezer, anno. 1202.

by the bishop of *Osma* in *Spain*, and the famous *DOMINIC*, then but a canon of that church before the institution of the order which afterwards bore his name.

GREGORY who succeeded *Innocent*, finding the bishops did not exert themselves with such zeal and spirit as suited his taste, took the jurisdiction out of their hands, and confined it entirely to the religious of the order of *Dominic*. They not to incur the same censure of languor and remissness, proceeded with such vehemence and impetuosity, that the people of *THOLOUSE* unable to bear their rigor, flew to arms, and not only drove out the inquisitors, but even their bishops, who had countenanced them with the intire body of *Jacobins*. [This instance might have served as well as some others, selected by the apologists, to shew what stands *Roman Catholics* have before now made for liberty; but what will such instances prove? This only, that human nature will kick against oppression, and wherever it has the power and opportunity vindicate its rights; but the struggle here was against the spirit of their religion;] which animated by the courage and conduct of this pope, and the industry of his legate, arch-bishop of *Vienne*, got the better, and they were quickly re-established: towards the middle of the same century the emperor *Frederic II.* like a true son of the church, took the inquisitors under his protection: but quarrelling soon after with the pope, who had solemnly *excommunicated and deposed him* in a council held at *Lyons*; the affairs of the holy-office, or, as their historians chuse to term it, the church, met with some interruption, and went on but slowly for some time in his dominions, and heretics in those

those parts had time to draw breath, and take some repose, and in that time of rest, probably, increased their numbers.

By this schism, the pope was however at greater leisure, and had more liberty to extend his power in other parts, accordingly he seized the opportunity and established the inquisition in almost all the dominions of *Italy*: the *Neapolitans* alone, utterly refused to submit to it, or receive it: and the *Venetians* stood out till about the year 1280, near the close of the century: and when at last they did consent to receive it, it was under this restriction; that in no case whatsoever the privileges of the holy office should interfere to the prejudice of the sovereign authority of the state.

In *Spain* where its empire was at last most uncontrouled, it made its way at first but slowly, and for some time was kept confined within the little kingdom of *Arragon*: about the year 1578 *Ferdinand* honored by the papal see, with the venerable title of Catholic: the most subtle and expert prince of the age, finding that great numbers of *Jews* and *Moors*, were daily apostatizing, and drawing off with them many old Christians; by the advice and instigation of *Gonzalez de Mendoza*, arch-bishop of *Seville*, and by the persuasion of *Sixtus IV.* consented to establish it in *Castile* in the identical form in which it subsists at this day, with an authority quite exempt from any episcopal jurisdiction; and again, after taking *Granada* from the *Moors*, gave it place in every part of his dominions.

Much about the same time it made its way into *Sardinia*, *Sicily*, and all parts of the *Indies* subject
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to the *Spanish* government, *Naples* excepted, as we have already observed, and the *Netherlands*, where the people so far from being persuaded to let it among them would not even endure the name of it: such noise had the iniquitous proceedings of this holy-office made in other parts, that they resolved at all adventures to shut it out *.

The many attempts to introduce it in *France*, demand and deserve every reader's attention; it was intirely owing to the numbers and the respectable state of the reformed, that every attempt towards it was baffled and disappointed: the queen-mother, whose game was artfully to ballance between the different parties, as the best mean to secure her own authority, was in the account of *Mezeray* as much intent upon the extirpation of heresy, and the new doctrines, as even the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the popes themselves; but hearing of the disturbances occasioned by it in so many places, and justly apprehensive that the same or worse effects might happen there, if an innovation so extraordinary was attempted: as often as the *GUISES* pushed it on, she found ways to stave it off, and evade it.

About this time *Paul IV.* of all the popes the most strenuous asserter of the inquisitorial jurisdiction, happening to die, even the people of *Rome* inflamed against it with the most violent aversion † as soon as they had heard he had expired, tumultuously assembled, and seizing every one what arms

* *Grotius* annal. lib. 1.

† *Mezray, Mainbourg* hist. *Calvin*.

came in their way, in a body made an assault on the holy-office, pulled it down, opened the prisons where the accused heretics were confined, set fire to the registries where the acts of the court were kept, and at last were with difficulty restrained by the magistrates from setting fire to the *Dominican* convent, against which their only quarrel was, that the inquisitors were of that order :

An account of these violent proceedings at *Rome* coming to the queen's ears, she was greatly alarmed, not doubting but that something of the same sort would happen in *France*, especially at so critical a juncture, as affairs were then in between the contending parties ; she therefore used various pretences to amuse the heads of the LEAGUE, and shift off the propositions which had been made by the *Cardinal of Lorraine* in their name : to evade them effectually she consulted with the chancellor DE L' HOPITAL (the greatest character in that age, or perhaps in any age) what was to be done ; he advised a middle way.

In *France* it seems as well as in other places, there had for some time been violent contests to what department the cognizance of heresy properly belonged, whether to the bishop or to the secular judges : *Henry II.* in whose reign heresy, as they called it, first began to pullulate and peep out, the civil magistrates only had the cognizance of it : but he to sooth and pacify the bishops who complained loudly against this invasion of their privileges, in the year 1549 issued an edict, by which it was left to the secular judges to exercise that jurisdiction in regard to all *Laics* ; and to the bishops in regard to the clergy, allowing the bishops in respect

spect of the first no other power, than to determine upon the question of heresy, what doctrines were heretical and what not: when this was decided, report was to be made to the secular judge, who was to proceed to examine and give sentence, and when that passed, the criminals were to be remitted to the bishop, to be punished in such manner as the canon-law had prescribed; by the process in this way the reputed heretics gained a notable advantage, because in no case the sentence of death could pass, as the bishops were by the canons inhibited from imbruing their hands in blood, or being accessory in any manner towards it, or even present when such sentence was passed *.

For this reason the cardinal of *Lorraine*, some time after, contrived a contrary edict, ordering that the bishops only should have power to hear, judge and give sentence in all cases of heresy, and that secular judges should have no more to do, than when heretics were remitted to them from the ecclesiastical courts, without appeal, or listening to pretences of any kind, instantly to proceed to punish with all the rigor and severity of law: here was the thing in effect, though the name was avoided, but even this would not content his eminence, for now more than before he pressed and importuned, to have the inquisition regularly set on foot and established, and must certainly have

* Whether bishops were in all cases so scrupulous as to act in strict conformity to the sense of these canons, may be doubted from a story told by *Mézeray* of a bishop who going to battle, would not be armed with a sword, or arquebuss, but only with a club, *Croyant* says, qu'assomer, n'etoit pas repandre le sang, ab. cron. anho. 1214.

prevailed,

prevailed, had not the good chancellor, unwilling to drive him to extremities, (as he owed his own advancement to him) to countermine his proposal, contrived the new edict of *Ramorantin*, which left the sole power of judging in the bishop, and of punishing in the secular judge, yet worded in such manner, as to seem to conform to the sense of the cardinal's own edict. Thus the matter was compounded, without the odium of the name: which *Mezeray* says was never mentioned nor thought of without horror by any body who had notions of liberty, or the least tincture of wisdom or Christianity*.

To trespass as little as I might upon my readers leisure or patience, I have gone over this account with all the brevity and conciseness I could; if I have been too long in it, the reflections which unavoidably strike his thoughts in the perusal will apologize for me: these I would not chuse to anticipate, and therefore shall only suggest to him two or three, that I would not wish should escape him:

(1.) That generally speaking, men often think they are contending against sense when they are only contending against sound; and even where they are most turbulent and noisy, may be reconciled to the very thing they pretend to abhor and abjure, if it is presented under a new form or a different name: in most such cases the true politic game is to throw up the hand, shuffle and cut and deal about a new one.

* Ibid. 1546, meme aux plus sage aux plus Chretiens.

(2.) From the character of this princess, (not amiable, or a good one) modern princes and governors may yet learn, that in every state where there are differing sects and parties, what the governing part have principally to look to, is to hold the ballance as equal between them as he may, that when the occasion offers or requires, it may be always in their power to play one against the other, measuring and parcelling out their favours by indulgence to either, always with a sparing, never with a lavish hand: giving as much as ought and no more, to make them easy and content; if once they have given all, and no more is to be expected or got, they will grow audacious and insolent.

(3.) That here the very idle suggestion, that this engine of persecution, the *inquisition* had no countenance from the *Roman Catholic* religion, is absolutely voided and the falsity of it discovered to every man who can read. It is to Catholics I now speak, and the purport of my address is to beseech them, not to be any longer imposed upon by the shuffling evasions of those, who with or without a call assume the characters of apologists and advocates: in this little abstract taken mostly (to prevent the suspicion of art in false coloring) from *Maimbourg* a Jesuit, of noted insincerity with us, though a favourite author with them) they will see both in its beginning and progress who were its promoters and abettors. *That popes, cardinals, bishops, and the religious of their several orders,* were its parents, nurses, guardians and protectors: of course, that if the spirit of their religion was as they pretended, averse from all such measures, then
their

their infallible head, with all his subordinate tribe of pastors, were a pack of shameful apostates and rebels, rebels to God and to Christ; and from the period when these abominations began, have never since had any just pretensions to the name or title of a christian church: *they that have not the spirit of Christ are none of his.*

It hath often been impertinently asked by them in their disputes with Protestants, *where was your religion before Luther?* The answer usually given, and indeed the proper one was, it was in the gospels and epistles of Christ and his apostles, where it was for many ages locked up by them from vulgar sight, where no body was allowed, or dared to look into it. We now in our turn must ask them, where, from the 9th to the 16th century, whilst these corrupt arts and practises were carrying on, was their religion? had it been the religion of Christ these things could not have happened: as often as such abuses crept in, it would have remonstrated: how comes it that in all this time its voice was never heard?

Of late indeed we have been told, *that the abuses committed in the Inquisition have been disclaimed by the generality of Catholics* *. It is a pleasing account, and the evidences of it, in many places, are fairly dawning. In the worst times there were some generous and free spirits, who scorned to submit to it, and in most places nature struggled, till it was forced by the too great weight laid upon it, to bend and give way. But who are these generality of Catholics, are they laymen and politi-

* Apol.

cians, or are they ecclesiastics? Have any of their popes or bishops, they who call themselves the Church, and claim a peculiar and exclusive title, both to the name and all the authority, declared or shewn a disposition to have it abolished, or to reform in this most material point: till we see some advances in this way, they must excuse us, if we think the spirit of their religion, the same that it has been for eight or nine centuries past: to confine our observations to our own history, let them look back to the struggles betwixt *Hen. II.* and his favourite *Becket*: have any of them publicly disavowed the conduct of that turbulent prelate and the measures of the court of *Rome*, by which he was protected? would the Popish clergy of *England* or *Ireland* submit and swear to the CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON? and agree to insert this or something equivalent in the TESTS they offer to government? will they consent to have their liturgies translated into *English* and *Irish*, and always to be read to their flocks in their mother tongue; that they may know both who they pray to, and what they pray for? And will they encourage new impressions of the Bible and New Testament, in the languages they understand, and advise and encourage their people to read and to study them? if they will not do these things, what can we think? what can they expect? must not our fears and our jealousies continue? can they hope to be admitted into that fellowship and intimacy, which on both sides should be desired and sought? what an example have the *Portuguese* lately set them? why will not they follow it? are they resolved to be the last to reform, to throw off their chains, or recover their senses?

That

That most princes have been long since jealous of the power delegated to ecclesiastics, and would be glad to have it abolished. I am inclined to believe, but for this happy turn in the inclinations of moderns, we must think ourselves indebted to other causes, than the maxims of the religion they were bred in: if simply condemning not the persons, but the doctrines of Heretics in the judgment of the Catholic Church had been sufficient, she would have taught her sons, the princes of her communion this, and not have incited them so often to have proceeded with such severity against the persons.

It hath been objected (generally averred we are told *) by Protestants, that the judges of this court the Inquisition, take cognizance of crimes on common report, without legal evidence, except what they themselves procure. If it was false, why did not he prove it? why shuffle it over with a *be this as it may*: does he mean to insinuate that it is not so, I have a voucher at hand, against whom no exception can lie; the excellent Grotius. The passage in his own words is worth quoting †. *Suspicio ad carcerem judicium leve ad torquendum satis: nec saltem testes audire reos, aut refellere confessum, quasi testibus ipsis, ac veritati periculum foret*: on any suspicion men are imprisoned, on the slightest presumptions put to the torture, without permitting the accused to hear what is witnessed against them, to hear their accuser, or have any opportunity of refuting him: as if by that, not only the

* These quotations in Italics are all from the Apology, so often referred to.

† Annal. lib. 1. p. 14. Amstelod. 1658.

witnesses, but even truth itself might suffer or be endangered : and I have in this referred to *Grotius* rather than *Limborgh*, because like to have more credit with Catholics, as he was by many suspected of a leaning to that side, on account of his project for re-uniting the two religions, defending publickly, from a passage in *Cyprian*, the pope's supremacy, &c. *

To the whole of the charge, as it now lies before the reader, what reply is it likely *R. C.* will make : such of them, I mean, as have sense and ingenuity to reason upon the case, and perceive where the lines of duty begin and end ? If they chime in with their last apologist, they will probably reply by recriminating *Iliacos intra muros, peccatur et extra* : Protestants (they will say) of any denomination, in this respect have not been free from sin : they have at all times shewn the same cruelty of temper even to one another : even in the commencement of the reformation, where it behoved them most to be upon their guard, and stand clear of such imputations, have proved that toleration was not characteristic in them, more than in *R. C.* and as they have heretofore, may go on to remind us of several instances upon record against us : as that of *Servetus* at *Geneva* : the murder of *Card. Beaton*, by *Knox*, called a godly act : the Cases of *Joan of Kent*, *Van Paris*, &c.

If they do, all we can do is to express our shame and sorrow that such things should be said, and could not be confuted : *pudet hæc opprobria*. But

* See his life by *De Burigny*.

still Protestants will have to say in their own behalf, that such instances, though they were more numerous, prove nothing against our religion, nor offer any argument in favour of theirs: because by the principles of one, such practises are authorized and recommended, by ours they are reprobated and condemned: a Protestant as often as he persecutes, acts against conscience, a Papist without remorse: his religion advises him to it: he is told and he believes, he is doing God service, laying up not only rewards for himself, but raising a supererogatory fund of good works to be applied to others; are they well advised, they will change this course: they have stuck to it too long, it never did, it never will serve their turn: they never will be able to wash this *Æthiopian* white: the stain is too black, the dye too deep: had *Naaman's* leprosy been of this quality, neither the waters of *Jordan* nor *Bethesda* would have healed it: a broken and a contrite heart is the only thing in which a wicked spirit can find either cure or pardon. The more ingenuous *French*, I am well assured, never hear of the massacre of *Paris*, without a blush: as often as it is mentioned, they are abashed and confess the guilt: why will not *Irishmen* be equally candid, and deplore what they cannot defend: what a notable argument was that *, *that because the good principles of a church are not attended by conformable practices, therefore the evil principles of a church can do no harm. They are not necessarily productive of evil: no indeed; but they have the influence of precept and authority, and they very injudiciously argue for public*

* Tryal of the Rom. Cath. p. 155. Ed. 3.

leading, who insinuate or contend that they are not often productive, one of good the other of evil. Have we said enough? need we say any more? I hope not, and let me fondly hope too that, on some proper occasion, they will, by some more candid and open profession than any their apologists have yet made for them, render all such controversy for the future, superfluous and unnecessary: they may see if they do not, from the conclusion drawn by the author of *the Considerations*, what will come of it. *Have they*, says he, *any new modification to plead: in what respect were their fathers more obnoxious than they? ought they not then to be kept within the same restraints?* This is the author's inference; freely I acknowledge it is not mine, and my reasons for disagreeing with him, will form the plea I intend in their behalf; wherein will be shewn, that even if they had no new modification to plead, yet that they ought not to be kept within the same restraints: because, undoubtedly their fathers were more obnoxious than they: and even if they were not, some of those restraints are plainly unjust, and contrary to the common rights of nature, such as no reason, nor hardly any circumstances can justify; which sentence, upon the whole, stands upon best reasons: after the sequel has been considered, the reader will judge.

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

WE convict ourselves of unmanly prejudice, when we conceive or conclude, that the ideas of popery and Papists, by which our conduct was regulated, a century, or even half a century ago, should still regulate our thoughts and govern our councils with equal influence and the same weight; neither the thing nor the men are to be considered in the same point of view: it never was the case of any sect to adhere rigidly, for any long tract of time to the mode either in doctrine or discipline upon which they set out, and made their first advances; some degenerate and grow worse, others refine, meliorate and improve, and from various incidental and contingent circumstances, which none of them could foresee, are unmeaningly often and insensibly led, or driven to assume different forms, to change both their principles and manners, so as scarcely to preserve any likeness, congruity, or conformity to the original mode: we have a remarkable instance in a sect still known in different parts of Europe under the denomination of MENNONITES. The accounts transmitted to us of what they originally were, raise, as often as we read them horror and disgust: voluptuous, riotous, fierce and sanguinary to a degree that shocks and disgraces human nature; at present in all places where they have settled, and found entertainment, pacific, harmless, industrious and charitable: some favourable allowances therefore seem due to them all: their different states should be examined

ned and compared, and where any signal alteration is observable in their tempers and manners, they indubitably become the objects of different affections; and very rationally assert their claim to a different treatment, in the several states through which they are dispersed. When the papal power was in its zenith, the extravagant manner in which it was every where exerted, rendered it the duty as well as the interest of every reformed state to keep all who professed obedience to the see of *Rome* in the lowest state of subjection and humiliation that was possible: no rights of citizenship, no exemptions or immunities, hardly any fellowship or communion, beyond the common rights of nature of being clothed and fed, by their own industry and labour, seem to be their due, either to be claimed or allowed: where more was granted the community was seldom safe; their power whatever it was being generally sure to be turned against the government they lived under, as often as the pride or policy of their sovereign pontiff called upon them to exert it: this acknowledgment is methinks enough to satisfy the most virulent adversaries, who are now called upon to consider whether the case throughout all and singular the states of Europe hath not for some time been remarkably very different: do their devotees any where shew the same zeal or attachment either to his person or his power? is not one dwindled into impotency, the other into contempt? and is not the little authority which they now maintain, supported only by the refinements of policy, and the arts of insinuating address: this in a general way, without considering the peculiar circumstances of Papists in *Ireland*: are popery and Papists any longer formidable? let any one shew me the source, point out

to

to me the grounds of the terror? if this cannot be done, even from this general view, some mollifying considerations unavoidably flow in, even in behalf of those among us, to usher in and lead to that charitable inference I mean to draw; that the shackles and restraints by which they have been so long fettered and galled, may either be taken off, or made to sit easier and lighter: if it can be made to appear, that in their present condition, they are incapable of doing us hurt, it may then be admitted that we ought not to refuse to do them any good, that may at the same time be of benefit to ourselves.

As I advance let me however clear the way of objections; from the spirited pen of the celebrated Mrs. *Cath. M^A*—y, one so specious has been dressed up, as we may guess will be swallowed glibly by such as are captivated by sounds, when it has made its way to the understanding of the candid and sober Mr. *Blackburn*. She is so far from admitting that *they ought to be looked upon with an eye of favour by governors, that they ought to be regarded with contempt, jealousy and aversion; why? for a reason that at first view would incline us to a contrary sentence, because their religious principles teach them active obedience, and passive submission to all civil establishments under which they may happen to live**: when this opinion is brought to the test, if it may be thought to consist with modern policy, a doubt will still remain whether it will square to any rule of Christian ethics. This is my rule, and prompts me to put the question, would he, or even would she wish to see the prin-

* See her hist. vol. 3. p. 78.

ciples of independency, which in a limited monarchy it is easily allowed ought always to be maintained, by two of the estates, as proper barriers against the invasions of the third, universally prevail in all the lower classes? If once it comes to that, how long will it be possible for government to subsist, or to be carried on with energy and effect? must there not in every state (whatever the constitution and nature of the government is) be some supreme and absolute power, to which active obedience, and passive submission may be strictly required, and indispensibly due? The excellency of our constitution consists in the balance of power between the three estates, and its safety in the equal poise of that balance: there let it ever rest: the moment it is disturbed or put out of course, that liberty which we ought only to rejoice in, would be at an end: but then, is it not equally clear, that the power of judging, of resisting, &c. is not in the individuals, the subjects, but in their representatives, acting regularly in the forms of the constitution? If subjects have a right to fly to arms, and controul the powers of the state, whenever they imagine "that the establishment has not been introduced by common consent but by violence and fraud, that of course it is tyrannical and not legal, and that a partial not a general good is intended," these champions of independency have framed, I fear, a better apology, for the R. C. rebellions in *Ireland*, than ever entered into their own heads; and are sapping the constitution of their country, by framing principles, that will vindicate every revolution that has been or may be as well as that of 1688: the establishment of the *English* government in this island certainly was not by common consent; it is legal now,

now, but by this rule was not always so, fraud and violence were used to establish it, and a partial not a general good was intended : nor is this expert casuist sure that R. Catholics on this account deserve to be regarded with contempt or aversion ; I who have perhaps more opportunities of observing their manners can tell the lady, that they seem in general, to understand the rational principles of government and subjection, better perhaps than she would have them ; and having in some degree possessed the blessings of liberty, and come to be acquainted with the equal rights of men, are come to know its value : I have rarely met with an opinion so openly at variance with common sense ; the notion is idle, and the discourse however suited to the prevailing humours of the age, is by no means specific to the distemperature we are under.

In the prosecution of any end, or purpose, if means heretofore used and applied have failed of success, the dictate of good sense is to change our course and look out for others, if haply they may be found more appropriate, and thence like to be more availing : if the point in view be necessary, or uncommonly important, every experiment should be succeeded by another, as long as there is reason to hope, or any possibility remains, and can come into prospect that it may be accomplished : is it of slight regard, too trivial to deserve pains, let it be relinquished and set aside, but if it is of the last and greatest importance, as in the case before us it confessedly is, one essay defeated, should only make way for another, for this reason, though no other could be given, that in all cases where means are ineffectual, either they were injudiciously chosen, or indiscreetly applied ; consequently we
neither

neither act virtuously nor wisely, if we don't change our course. The argument then stands thus, we have now for a century, tried how far these people were to be wrought upon by methods of severity: the event hath shewn that in this way, they are not to be reclaimed: possibly gentleness, and kindness, would go farther, and have better effect, either therefore give me some satisfying reason that it would not, or consent with me that it ought to be tried.

Let us in complaisance suppose, what in just account is not the case, that in their religious system they have no new modification to plead, will it follow, that they are therefore as obnoxious as their fathers? no surely! their fathers were guilty of treason and rebellion, they for eighty years past have been guilty of neither. It does not appear to me that the rebellion in 1745, was the effort of popery to overturn our constitution (as the confederer alledges †) farther than that it was in favour of a popish prince, and if it were, the Papists of *Ireland* must be universally acquitted from having any share in it; and I question if at this day there is one man living among them who shared in the guilt of that of 1690. Doth this make no difference? to me it pleads strongly in their behalf: the benefit of this plea was allowed to them one hundred years ago, where estates were intailed to the innocent sons, though the fathers had forfeited they were restored: and if that innocence hath ever since been untainted, though they have not changed their religion, the restraints and incapa-

† Considerations, p. 26.

cities which were due only to the transgressions of the fathers, ought not to lie heavy on them.

If the consequence of repealing the penal laws, unavoidably would be, what is supposed "an immediate return to their endeavours to subvert the constitution," they should stand as they are; but why is this supposed? the enemy whom I have alienated by harshness and severity, I may suspect would retaliate and do me an injury when it came in his way; the man whom I have obliged by offices of love and kindness, I am to rely on as my friend: if we are sometimes so ungenerous as to forget the good turns done us, we are rarely so base as to requite them with bad ones: it is therefore so far from the best reason for continuing these laws in full force and vigor, that it is plainly a reason against it. Be the tendency of their principles ever so pernicious, it will always be weaker and less importuning in the man at ease and in good humour, than in those whose restlessness from pain, puts them daily in mind of the hand that inflicts it.

Neither do the inducements which our forefathers had for making these incapacitating laws subsist in the same force: though it should be true that they retain the same principles, the occasions of exerting them are all gone and past, and can never revert: neither their circumstances nor ours are the same; have they the will, they want the power: we are become stronger, they are become weaker, and we can keep them dependent, as well in a state of affluence and ease, as in a state of poverty and distress: what was the object of the penal laws in queen *Anne's* reign? undoubtedly

ly the Protestant succession; it could be none other: is that secured, and out of danger of being shaken, so far the reason hath ceased: wantonness and cruelty were not I hope among the inducements: nor can we fairly suppose that even their principles are the same they were, seeing they have neither the same object nor the same motives, and where this is the case, and such an observable change in the customs and manners of people have taken place, though by any public act they have never made any explicit renunciation of the imputed principles, we are in charity to suppose, that they are at least in a dying state, and all the venom of them very nearly exhausted.

We are many of us not very apt to observe it, but it is for all that very certain, and what may always in reason be reckoned upon, that new customs and manners will, in time, though neither they nor we should think of it or design it, superinduce and bring on new opinions and principles, or what is tantamount, desuetude, oblivion, and inattention to the old. It is by unperceived, often insensible workings and communications, that the great, the most remarkable mutations in the world have taken their rise and proceeded.

Let me give an instance that is connected with the subject, and will lead to farther observations: in vulgar computation the reformation took its rise from the trifling incident of *German friars* squabbling among themselves, who should have the profit and be the dispensers of *Leo's* indulgences: so it hath been said, that an old woman's throwing a cricket-stool at the head of an arch-bishop in *Scotland*, was the cause of the civil war in 1641: in

in both cases, the events were perhaps accelerated by these contingencies, but in investigating causes, it is a shame for philosophical inquirers to rest in such *minutiae*, which, like sparks from a flint, could raise no flame, if no combustible matter were in the way: the seeds of both were sown before, and had been germinating and budding before those little incidents opened a way for them to evolve and shoot out their leaves.

The reformation in my account must have happened though *Luther* had never been born*. *Leo* the X. the most spirited and amiable prince of the age

* Some weight may accrue to this opinion from facts mentioned by a modern historian (*Anderfon's* hist. of *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* p. 182) says, that *Francis II.* *Leo's* cotemporary, vied with him in rewarding proficients in science, and that the encouragement and favour which all men of learning found at his court was reckoned by *Strada* and others, one principal source by which the heresy of *Luther* was conveyed into *France*: he says again, p. 194, with what zeal did the faculty of the *Sorbonne* oppose the grand almoner *Du Châtel*, when he endeavoured to protect *Robert Eliensis*, or *Stephanus*, whose royal foundery of printing, they imagined would be instrumental in conveying heresy through the kingdom: and what he farther tells us is very remarkable, that the new opinions in *France* had not only their source, but for a considerable time their progress among men of letters, and that the seeds of heresy were scarce to be traced among the multitudes, whilst it was very visible among the courtiers, clergy and parliament.

Mr. Hume after enumerating the circumstances which in his opinion prepared a way to reformation, adds, "that they would have been attended with no event of any importance, had not a man arisen qualified to take advantage of the incident." But had he not overlooked or forgot the great leading cause, he would not I presume have said this (*Henry VIII.* 1521.) In another place he has an observation that entirely confutes what he said here, under anno 1377. The laity.

age was himself a main spring to set the machine in motion without designing it, by the encouragement he gave to learning, and to learned men, advancing science, and fostering those arts which of themselves lead to improvement, expanding the human mind, giving its powers a wider circuit, and diffusing light through the world : look back to the scenes described in the history, before this great event succeeded : Europe was in a kind of chaotic state, darkness covered the face of the deep, not a ray was to be seen to direct the wandering traveller's step : under the auspices of *Leo* light broke in and the cloud dispersed : at what time, before or since, might be reckoned up so many fine geniuses, or great scholars ; look over the lists, it is a doubt whether the present enlightened age with all its boasted advantages, can turn out as many in all respects their equals.

Reason then a moment on the case : would light come and go without its attendant liberty ! the active powers of understanding let loose, would no essays to vindicate, or retrieve lost privileges be made ? so many botches, blemishes, and irregularities, stripped and exposed to view, would none of them be corrected or removed ? whilst these

ty, he says, were greatly prejudiced against the papal power : the usurpations of the popes were in their sense the cause of the nations poverty and all its plagues, that in that sinful city of *Rome* every thing was venal : at one time they petitioned the king to employ no churchman in any office of state, and even speak of expelling by force the papal authority to remedy oppressions, which they said they neither could nor would endure any longer : *men who talked, says he, in this style were not far from reformation.*

powers

powers were in motion would all the other powers of nature be quiescent and mute? would those torpors that drowsiness brought on by darkness and ignorance, continue without diminution or decay? with so many things behind and before to stimulate and rouse, it is not to be imagined: the cause ceasing, the effect would cease with it: to me it is, beyond all peradventure, that the thing must have taken place, and that very soon though these friars had never fallen out, nor those papal bulls had ever been heard of: any other accident would have served as well as this, and the only difference might have been, that the consequent reformation might have been better conducted, and gone forward with more composure and regularity.

We see in very legible signatures what strides philosophy and free thinking are taking at this day in the several states of Europe: the energetic power of example communicating its influence from one to the other. I have been told, how truly I know not, that a late pope fond of literature, and emulous of excelling in that way, in return for a compliment from the *eruditi* of *Leipsic* permitted the acts of that distinguished society, to be imported and sold in *Italy*: those acts meddle not with theological niceties: he saw, he apprehended nothing to follow from it, nor ever dreamt that he was sapping the foundations of his own power, and putting arms into the hands of subjects to fight against him: but causes will operate, and effects will come though popes can't foresee them; the intellectual powers, as I have said, set in motion, who can say whither they would tend, or where they would stop? without prescience, what

is their infallibility good for? strange condition of human nature, that could make way for the opinion, that a property like this could be communicated, or that such a vessel as man could be fitted to receive it!

If some late accounts may be credited, a remarkable turn hath happened in the popular opinions of the *French*: what it may end in nobody yet can pretend to say, but any one who looked before him, and knew how to make estimates, would have reckoned upon it as a thing which sooner or later must have succeeded, in consequence of the general reception of such a book as *L'Esprit de Loix*: the effect was not generally apprehended at the time, but the faculty of the *Sorbonne* saw it, and by their conduct shewed how strong the conviction of it was upon their thoughts by labouring so earnestly to suppress it: they are idly at the same work again with MARMONTEL for his little spirited novel of *Belisarius*: but they may save themselves the labour, it is I will venture to tell them a lost game they are playing, and it will thereafter be a matter of very little consequence, what books the *Parisian* faculty of divines will either condemn or approve; If *Sanctarellus's* book were to be published now, or any such like, it is hardly probable, that there would be any one to purchase it, unless there was somebody foolish enough to censure it.

To come to the point and apply the observations to the case before us; in this new and variegated scene, are we to imagine that the R. C. of *Ireland* are the only people in *Europe* who are never to act a part? there is reason indeed

deed to think that they may be among the last,
 their poverty, their ignorance, their secluded
 state, will necessarily for some time keep them
 out of it, but when they come to see that their
 foreign fraternities, their associates, every where
 else have changed their apparel, sized and trimm'd
 it, to the taste in mode, it is not to be thought,
 that they out of mere peevishness, or affectation
 of singularity, will lazily and incuriously go on
 in the antiquated, exploded attire of their an-
 cestors: if their foreign fraternities forsake them,
 and they are left alone to stand by themselves,
 what will they do? in any difficulty or distress
 to whom will they repair for consolation or suc-
 cour? here their perverseness will not have left
 them a friend: there their connections are broken
 up and dissolved: though so long deaf and inat-
 tentive to the calls of reason, they will, they must,
 in the end be awakened by those of favour and
 interest and reputation; with this instrumentality
 of second causes, I see no reason to conclude that
 by some means or other providence may not con-
 cur, where a general good by bettering the state
 of the nation, or society may be the result; we
 have no reason to suppose that they are under any
 irreversible decree of reprobation or perdition:
 why should they only of all mankind be so situated
 as to be for ever out of the reach of any ray of
 grace? they bear the same image, have the same
 resemblance of the divinity stamped upon them,
 the same elements in their composition, the same
 inlets of sense, and the same avenues for light to
 enter: in all views we have reason to think,
 that some time or other the wished for event may
 come and will come, and if in the ordinary course
 in which such events may be expected to succeed,

there are any indicative signs, or symptoms of its approach, what have the ruling powers, they who are to take the lead and shew the way, to do, but to strike in, to watch and seize the opportunity, and by such means as are safe and salutary, and therefore wise to cooperate and help upon?

Will it be said, that every thing hath been done, that can be done, that public wisdom is at a stand and can go no farther? that every political engine which could be contrived hath been already set in motion, and that nothing is left, but patiently to wait the issues of providence, without perplexing our thoughts, or embarrassing our counsels, with fruitless and impracticable projects: away! with this language, at best of sloth and dissipation, in just account of party prejudice, anger and malevolence: the hand of the lord is not shortened; untrodden paths are still before us: if past counsels and measures have not succeeded, new, more specific, and appropriate to present circumstances may: and as long as the thing is possible, and impossible who will venture to say it is, it will always be a good reason to suspect, that by some unperceived defect, or mismanagement, the issue hath only been frustrated: are we to go on for ever in the same uneasy and anxious state? this will not be said: can we go on advantageously or safely in the course we are in? this hath not been considered.

This argument will be strengthened by the allegation, that these said natives of *Ireland*, by some means, or other are visibly in a preparatory
readiness

readiness to accord, and go along with every council of wisdom, which bearing the air of benignity and kindness, may be instrumental in forwarding that unity of interest and affection, which on all hands is allowed to be the thing most wanted to make this country prosperous and flourishing: have they the same antipathy and hostile hatred to all *English* men, which towards the close of the last century was remarkably, and perhaps not unreasonably characteristic of them all? do they shew any indisposition to communicate with us in any friendly offices, either shy in receiving, or backwards in requiring such as are tendered to them? the blessings of a free legal constitution they have now enjoyed for more than half a century, don't we see them rejoicing and hugging in the enjoyment? and can we think that under this sense and conviction they would chuse to part with it, to give it up, and revert to that barbarism and slavery, which if not originally, and always was at least their lot, when *English* men came first amongst them; and which it is too soon for them to forget was their lot even under that race of princes to whom they had no attachment, but from the respect, which those princes bore some covertly and some openly to their religion. — To whom they have so few, if any obligations of gratitude, and under whom they must know, if they know any thing, that their condition if not infinitely worse, could not become better than now it is; with the strength, that a Protestant establishment of eighty years uninterrupted continuance must have gained, every flattering hope must expire or vanish, that it could

be in the power of that exiled race, if restored, to restore them to their estates, or re-establish their religion; it is too soon for them to forget the sad tidings sent by *Tyrconnel* to *James II.* then in *France*, *that he could ruin the country but could not keep it* *. Was this the case then when their comparative numbers so much exceeded, what they are at present, when they had still a very considerable property in land left: when they had an army of 25000 men at their back, with recruits from every quarter to pour in, when they had a governor of their own religion, and their own chusing, when a mighty foreign prince had openly espoused their cause: is it to be imagined, that any such visionary scheme can amuse their thoughts now? how delirious must those brains be, in which such extravagancies can get entertainment? I cannot bring myself to think that there is one serious or sensible Papist in the kingdom at this day, who would listen with patience to such idle reveries, much less dwell upon them with any degree of that pleasure which arises from hope: if any of them should deceive me in this, and convince me either by reasoning or practice, that I judge wrong I should not only give them up as dreaming dotards, but as the most abandoned desperate fools that ever existed.

Let us look about and see whether experience in every observable occurrence doth not prove that I am right: are not their thoughts every where, as far as we can see into them, turned to industry

* *Earl of Clarendon's diary*: if *Mr. B*—he had recollected this passage he would not have asserted, p. 111, that it was at that time in the power of the *Irish* to have crushed all the Protestants of *English* descent.

of every kind? to the care of providing decent and durable dwellings for their families, and even to the improvement of the soil where they have any kind of encouragement? doth this argue disaffection or desire to change? have they not sufficiently experienced the consequences of national revolutions? what prospect could any new one open to them? wretchedly blind, invincibly obstinate must they be, if they don't see, that the opportunities are all past and gone, and that upon no future occasion they ever can be our competitors for power and superiority: destitute and helpless, upon what could they found any aspiring hopes? where in the states of Europe, is there one able or willing to raise them up and restore them? which of them could spare from their own pressing exigences, either the time or the expence necessary? what are the motives to impel them? by what interests are they so united as to make them wish for it or attempt it? the spirit of knight errantry is every where extinct: croisades are out of fashion: their foreign fraternities have not even a common center, with power sufficiently attractive to bring them together: they have severally enough to do, to support their own schemes, many of them under the thin vail of ostentatious parade, with patched and disjointed systems, tottering on their foundations, and farcically enough mimicking that importance they have lost: they have flourished, and have most of them had their day, and already made the sure but short transit from maturity to putrefaction: the remaining power, what ever it is, is too much in *equilibrio*, too nicely balanced, to give to any one the ascendancy necessary for speaking in imperial tone, and prescribing to the rest, and except in the distempered brains of their rulers,

have hardly any of them the seeds, or occasions of future contention : in the issues of their rivalship they have seen the folly of them, and their impatient blustering in the pacific arts of providing for internal security and domestic ease hath found its cure.

These considerations lie as open to the understandings of Papists as of Protestants, and as often as adverted to, must read them this most useful and instructive lesson, that all the happy chances for any worldly prosperity, which can now possibly await them, must and can arise only from their own easy and regular subjection to the government they are under : by willing subjection and uniform obedience their condition may be bettered ; by opposition and perverseness it will always be worse : shy as I am of interpreting the ways of providence to have been always in our own favor, it looks, as if even in heaven the final sentence of reprobation had been written against them. In every event which with any shew of probability, may be construed as the result of divine administration, the decision hath been always against them. In the annals of time, where is there an instance of any people so intirely abandoned and forsaken ? for aught that appears, Jews might as well think of recollecting their dispersed tribes, and of marching back to *Palestine*, to rebuild the walls of *Jerusalem*, and restore the kingdom to *Israel* as that the Papists of *Ireland* by any methods of Power and Policy shall be able to rise here triumphant over the heads of Protestants.

Common sense, of which I can easily allow them an equal share with their neighbours, must ere now have convinced them, that all this is true. Their sprightliest and best informed champion, * in terms very little differing in sense hath told them it, and we are from thence reasonably to presume, that the intelligent and rational part of them, can hardly at present have any such object in view: true it is, that to balance this there is one very discouraging circumstance apparently still in the way: *they are one and all the wise and well instructed as well as the simple and ignorant, plainly, as much as ever the devotees of the ROMAN PONTIFF: zealously the partisans of his long usurped power, passively the servants of his imperious will.*

Is this true? it is a discouraging circumstance, which I must reason with them about: it is a disgracing one which they must consider and answer to: every where besides, even where Popery is the established form, philosophy is seen to be getting the mastery of superstition: fanaticism vanishing under the improvements of science, and old senseless prejudices which kept men from apprehending and prosecuting their own essential interests lost, or forgot in the cultivation of trade and peaceful arts. The galling yoke of Papal power they are all apparently weary of: few if any vestiges of that unmanly veneration and servile awe, for the person or character of the Pope, which was always the surest and best support of his power, are to be traced or seen; and even that society so renowned for art and intrigue, whose extended

* Mr. O'Connor.

triumphs

triumphs seemed to promise everlasting establishment, we see dissipated and dissolved, without an asylum, any place of refuge to resort to. Here only amidst the triumphs of liberty and the irradiating beams of light flashing in their faces, they seem contentedly to hug their chains, without any symptoms of remorse, or signs of shame, without any generous effort to emancipate, to rescue themselves from the Anti-christian usurpation.

To their wretchedness what infamy by this is added? disposed as we are in other respects to pity them, here they stand confessed the objects of a contrary affection. Do they boast of liberty as their birth-right, why in this necessary and most becoming instance do they never exert it? is civil liberty so dear and so precious, and is religious liberty of no value in their account? it is a well authenticated fact, vouch'd by ours and their own historians* that in the several states of Christendom, which gradually came under the *Roman* yoke, *Ireland* was the last: from the time that Christianity was first taught and received here, six or seven centuries had elapsed before it had made that fatal, and ignominious surrender of their ecclesiastical immunities: the source of all the misery they have since endured, at this day the greatest, perhaps only obstacle in their way to that ease distinction and respect, which they impatiently look for, or are in any capacity of attaining.

The author referred to hath singled out this as the most remarkable incident in ecclesiastical history: and indeed it is: but when it came in his way he should have improved the observation for the

* Mr. Hume, and Mr. O'Connor, dissent.

benefit of his country men : by setting it in that view, wherein if they would one and all consider it, it may be of infinite service to them : this he has too artfully endeavored to conceal from their sight, and by a jumble of unconnected ideas, raised such a mist about it, as requires more discernment, and sharpness of sight than they are commonly masters of to see through. Looking back to the period of their conversion, he should have told them that it was impossible that any but a free ecclesiastical constitution could then have obtained here : that St. *Patrick* by whom it was completed (for he was not the first) did not, nor could not bring with him many such restrained and limited powers as the bishops and pastors of *Ireland* afterwards consented to submit to : the Popes at the time had none such to confer, nor were in any condition to impose or enforce them.

Patrick was contemporary with *Ambrose* and *Austin*, who had each of them too much of the genuine ecclesiastical spirit to acknowledge a supremacy, which absorbed, and put an end to every aspiring ambitious hope that could rise in their own breasts. * The Popes at that time had indeed

* At this time *Patriarchs* and *Metropolitans* had obtained : the hierarchy being then reduced as near as it could be to the model of civil government instituted by *Constantine*, and by his interposition, and means : but the provincial metropolitan had the sole jurisdiction, and no appeal from him to any other was allowed or heard of : in the 5th century it may be owned the bishop of *Rome* did claim a jurisdiction over all the *African* churches : not as St. *Peter's* successor, but in virtue of a decree of the council of *NICE* : but the *African* bishops refused obedience, and *Austin* in particular, surprised at this new pretence, sent to *Greece* for an authentic copy of the acts of the council, and finding nothing in them relative to this claim, openly

indeed begun to play their game, and by hasty strides were advancing to the summit which they afterwards topp'd; but in the time we are speaking of were so little in a condition to assert and maintain it, that the explicit and open avowal of it, would in all probability have arrested its progress, and intirely put an end to it.

What I insist on then is this; that after telling them, *that from the 5th to the 12th century the primacy had always resided in the see of ARDMAGH*: it was rather too disingenuous to add *that it was originally in right of a legantine power derived from the POPE*. Because he knew that neither the word nor the thing were in use at the time, neither the revenue nor the extent of St. Peter's patrimony were able to bear those trappings of their modern grandeur: even the little exarchate of *Ravenna*, was not then annexed: a college of Presbyters since dignified by the higher sounding title of a Conclave of Cardinals, was all their Privy Council: which too, by the Canons had in many things a power to control them: that mark of sovereignty of sending abroad ambassadors, under a later invented title of *Legates a Latere*, was a thing not once mentioned or thought of: and if we were even to suppose that the case was as he states it, the argument in that view would still be conclusive against him. Why? for this very convincing reason offered by himself: *That it was a power, for which the Popes had no divine legation: a power too which after they had got it, they conducted very badly, and exercised very arbitrarily.*

openly and with indignation remonstrated against the intended trick. See *Geddes tract. dissert. on the Papal supremacy.*

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The gentlemen of that profession are therefore now called upon, attentively to consider this matter of fact : and to pursue it thro' all its consequences : let them consider whose testimony this is : were it the testimony of a Protestant it might be suspected of partiality ; coming from their own learned dissertator and apologist, it must have some credit with them, it ought to have some weight with them : and may we not reasonably hope that the conversion of men cannot be far off, who in a point of such consequence, are so ingenuous as to acknowledge conviction : when men see their errors, how ignominious is it not to recant them ?

I easily agree with him, that in Ecclesiastical History no one thing is more remarkable : but what is it that hath made it so remarkable ? what ! but the folly and depravity on both sides, by which one chicaned, and the other was duped : and if this censure is justly their due, it falls methinks with redoubled force on their sons and successors, who go on tamely under the same delusion, stamp'd with this upbraiding mark of degeneracy, without ever attempting in their own practice, to imitate that virtue, which they pretend to extol and admire : something they should do, to wipe away this reproach : were their fathers faulty in surrendering their immunities, as is in the passage before us plainly confessed, if there is any remaining probity or good sense, among them, the sons will reclaim and endeavor to reassume them : were they the last who were brought into bondage, should they not have been among the first and forwardest to set themselves free ? If they won't recant
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and be Christians like us, let them at least reform to the standard of their progenitors : go back to the point from whence they in their own account deviated and went wrong : let them shorten their Creeds to the size they first found them, and the differences, if any, between us will be too little for any men of sense and understanding to squabble about.

Can they prove that the doctrines taught by their first missionaries, were the same with those they at present adhere to? they will not I imagine pretend even to say it; we have none of the rituals of that age, but we have the acts of their councils and the controversial works of their divines, and thence can judge and see that they agree neither in substance, or form : the deviations in the last importation were too remarkable, the additions too many and too important, to give ground or credit to such a surmise : these were of a size and cast, that obliterated every signature by which the first could be distinguished : in a change so essential how could it be otherwise? except in the first rudiments of faith, those common principles, (if any such there be, wherein all Christians agree.) What is there in any of their present *Formularies or Confessions*, that hath any resemblance or congruity, with the modes well known to have obtained universally, when the first missionaries came here : to say therefore, that *when the last came, AN IDENTITY OF FAITH, right or wrong was found between the two Churches of Rome and Ireland* †, is extremely whimsical and indeed paradoxical : where evidences of reality are not to be come at, appearances of probability should bound our suppositions.

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In the intervening period how was the intercourse and correspondence necessary for this, maintained? in the successive innovations made every day in *Italy*, how did, or how could the *Irisb* keep equal pace? how were the tidings communicated? through what channel did they come? by what means were the *Irisb* annually informed of what was passing there? in this little remote and obscure corner, what was there to invite foreigners to come among them, what to raise their curiosity, or tempt them to ask questions about them? if the author hath been so lucky as to convince himself, that *Ireland* ever figured in the degree, he says it did, the incredulity of his readers I doubt stands on as it was: the remoteness of its situation in one view, and the poverty of its condition in a second, at a time when navigation and commerce the ordinary sources of wealth, were so little and infrequent, what could have been proposed as an equal recompence, for the toil, danger and expence of the voyage? that no kind of intercourse was preserved or subsisted, we are authorised from his own accounts to assert, seeing, *that in that long tract of time the Irisb*, he is positive, *had never ONCE applied to Rome for any bulls, ratifications, provisions or exemptions*: * I am inclined to take his word for it,

* In respect of this author I feel very disagreeing sentiments: I am not able to account for a phenomenon so extraordinary, that in a mind so enlightened as his, the antiquated prejudices of a barbarous and ignorant age should find any cordial entertainment: can a man visibly the proselyte of such a sceptic as Lord B-1-b-ke, adopting in many things not only his sentiments but language, and reasoning upon his principles, be in truth and sincerity the advocate of superstition and credulity? doth he hope to persuade us that the principles of pure THEISM are a proper stock to graft Popery upon? let him recollect what fell

from

and if the trade was too ignominious for any one to traffic in at the time, what are the inducements to persevere in it now? strange perverseness! if there is any thing that can be said in vindication of it, I should be glad to hear it.

Are the Catholics of *France*, as good Christians as the Catholics of *Ireland*? undoubtedly, it will not be denied: but the Catholics of *France* asserted the liberty of their Church in opposition to the claims of the Roman Pontiff in various instances and at different times: why then will not *Irish* Catholics, who in earlier ages longer maintained their independency do the same? if reasoning upon the case won't do, so laudable an example with people circumstanced as they are, might one would think, have some effect. Honour and interest are both on that side.

If this was a subject of laughter or ridicule, as such without any indignant reflection we might treat it, but it is too serious to be sported with, and in the judgment of most Protestants, instead of softening or removing old prejudices will rather throw new ones in the way to operate to their disadvantage, when their demands and remonstrances for new favors and privileges come to be examined: this at least they will acknowledge, that from me it is friendly to remind them of it: be the success what it will the motion is charitable: where obstinacy has no other cause than blindness, some mitigating apology may be admitted: but when

from his pen in his *Seas. Thoughts*, ann. 1735, and afterwards tell me how he stands reconciled both to his fraternity and to his conscience: for in what way he has been able to compound and keep fait with both I am not able to conceive.

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men say they see, the sin remaineth, and punishment if not disproportioned cannot be complained of. Do they contend for it, as a point of honour, that the people of Ireland unanimously treated the claim of ADRIAN the 4th to the temporal sovereignty of this island, with the utmost contempt in the 12th century, why do they meanly submit to it now? they will perhaps tell me that their reason for treating that claim with indignity then was merely political, because he had applied it to a bad purpose, in favor of a foreign prince, to make them tributary to the kings of *England*; but why quarrel with him for this, after they had themselves acknowledged him to be their sovereign? and quietly submitted to be governed by him: there had been more spirit as well as sense and consistency in standing to what I have already quoted from the author, that it was a power for which *the Popes had no divine legation*, and which in various instances as well as this, they have generally exercised very badly.

There is one common indiscretion that runs thro' all their late apologists: the real principles of Popery, they have all manifestly given up, and yet inconsistently affect the appearance of sticking up to those particular doctrines and practices which distinguish Popery, and were to Protestants the reasons of separating, but in such manner as looks, as if they only meant to conceal from their clients and retainers their own real sentiments, so as to appear to them, not to have gone off from what they had taught them to believe was Catholic and Orthodox; this has been in general their style and manner ever since Mr. BOSSUET's *famed exposition*, who with all the art he was master of, was able to do

do no more than by a slight varnish to hide the deformities most shocking from vulgar eyes: but in a way that does not look to me as if they had any design to challenge us again to renew the combat: and so far, I must say they are right, because the effect of reviving such controversies now or at any time hereafter, would be only to rekindle dying animosities, and set us back to that odious unhappy state, when the spirits of both, were too warmly agitated, for either to understand or give ear to the other, when it is still a doubt, whether either side gained much in numbers or strength: this I may tell them is my particular and only reason for declining the examination of all or any of those particularities, for with adversaries so often foiled and defeated, with such advantage ground to fight upon, and a magazine of arms always ready and at hand, if I know how to chuse or apply them; I have by study and experience profited very little, if I am unqualified now to enter the lists: but the truth is, that tho' they foolishly affect to flourish a little now and then upon these threadbare topics, they have in the main modestly and prudently reduced the controversy to this single point of decision: *whether distempered as they have been, they have not however performed sufficient quarantine, and by the regimen they have endured, are not recovered to such political soundness as justly intitles them to bills of health, to be received into our ports.* By this state of the question they will hereafter, if they be wise, abide: they have nothing else to which they can rationally trust, and this is in the case enough to content Protestants, and what perhaps they should only aim at, because, as we have already observed, to every thing else causes are visibly at work and going forward of themselves.

selves, and want nothing but the aids of charity and good nature to help them on.

Over and above what hath been already observed, how many expressive signs and symptoms, the prognostics of an approaching change do we see among them? who amongst us are fonder of that idol *that strumpet Liberty*, by every class so mistaken and abused! who more alert or active in exerting it? sometimes for no other reason, nor from any other motive, but to prove that they have it: have they been riotous and extravagant in the use of it, from whom did they learn, who taught them, set the example and encouraged them to it? let us not blame them for practising the lessons we ourselves have read to them: if all ranks are to be levelled and subordinations destroyed, why may not they set up for independency as well as others? doth not this offer reasons for the necessity of some care to reconcile their affections and fix their attachment to the constitution and government?

For one native of *Ireland* who could read fifty years ago, there are at least a hundred who can read now; news, politics and history, bear as great a share in their discourse, in their ordinary meetings and festival entertainments as they do in our own; and many other circumstances not unpromising preludes might be adduced, were they not also signs of corrupt and debauched morals: in the necessary intercourses and dealings we have with them, by living in the country, we unavoidably observe, that like too many in the upper ranks of all professions, they affect in general coldness and indifference to all forms of religion, neither attending confessions as they used, nor complying

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with the penances prescribed : for the persons of their Priests they have none of that servile awe which formerly was the badge of their slavery : watchful as their shepherds are, with difficulty they keep them within the fold ; in many things obliged to relax discipline, to soften their language, to comply with their humours, and to coax and flatter them to those compliances which formerly were enforced by menaces and correction. These things lay them open to seduction, and give a handle to those who think a convert of any kind a valuable acquisition, and where no more is thought requisite to make a good Christian, than the open profession of one set of opinions, and the renunciation of another, advantage may be made of such overtures : but the only use I should incline to make of them, is to treat them as signs of something better to succeed : they show that the darkness is not so thick and gross as it was, that some how or other light hath found entrance : that their minds are expanding and opening in a way that must fit them for stronger illuminations, such as may lead them to more important inquiries, and give employment to those mental powers, and discursive faculties, by which truth generally gets admittance and entertainment : and that going on thus and improving under happier auspices, they must if not differently formed from the rest of the human species, come quickly to see those things which belong both to their temporal and eternal welfare : that they cannot I say, be long blind to those saving truths, which will make them free indeed.

From the premises let no more be inferred than they will bear, many things are in the way before we can come to our conclusion : the thing here only

only intimated, and so far certainly it will hold, is this, that when causes are visibly at work, and by some moral, or natural efficiency tending to some important alteration, something should be done either to accelerate or retard the motion, to give them a contrary or a stronger direction: in such case proceeding hypothetically and only upon precarious conjectures, if it should fall out that we had mistaken the tendency and been out in our judgment, the impressed powers like additional weights hung to a beam or a cord, may at any time be subtracted, and either removed altogether, or put into the opposite scale: providence or prevention are not characteristic any where at present, like bunglers at play, when the game is up, we see the blunders by which it was lost.

L 2 S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

THE author of the considerations like many of his countrymen seems to have little knowledge of the internal state of this kingdom: what he has, he seems to have borrowed too from none of the best authorities: little credit can be thought due to the discourse of a woman, by some not uncommon coruscations in the air frightened from going to bed, and believing from thence, that what she had heard from God knows who, of the design of a general insurrection and massacre, might happen that very night: as little should the frothy discourses of a magisterial demagogue at a quarter-sessions be deemed a competent ground for resolutions in the cabinet or senate.

The disturbances which began in the North, and have since spread thro' the South, after all the judgments passed have never yet been traced up to the real springs which set them in motion: be the unrevealed cause what it will, they proved to demonstration, that we then and are still as divided a nation as any under the sun, and that all the bond of union we have among us is the terror of laws insufficient to execute themselves.

During that and part of the preceeding session of parliament, I was an idle spectator, but no incurious observer of what was to be seen and heard: I saw with surprise, and heard many things with astonishment: I saw men affectedly blind, or groping in the dark for what, they wished not to find; some
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not knowing how to proceed, others as little knowing what way to turn, or what to do, if they had found what they were looking for : I saw men in power and place, hugging themselves, easy and indifferent to the success of every such inquiry, and others merely to raise an opinion of their own importance opposing without sense or judgment every proposition that could lead to a discovery, or was intended as a remedy : others I saw timid and trimming, changing phrases and expunging words, lest by any harshness of expression they should offend when there was nothing to hurt, and among the many, too evident symptoms to induce the suspicion, that we have among us men, even in authority, who acted in concert and secretly encouraged the mischief.

A surmise irrational and impossible was propagated, that the clergy in both provinces were in fault, and some were wild enough to say that the only way to lay the storm was to do by them as the *Albenian mariners* were for doing by *DIAGORAS*, *to throw them over board*. The sacrifice of their property it was said, would be a healing balm *to stop the plague*.

Without any pains of theirs in their own vindication, this chimera for a while fondly entertained, in time vanished, and the iniquity of the scheme was too generally abhorred to be well seconded : but this failing, and not knowing where to look next, or what to fix upon instead of it, the inquiry both about the causes and the cure seemed to be at an end : some whose wisdom and probity set them above all partial regards and idle prejudices, saw, I am satisfied, and thought and judged as I do,

do, that the causes and the cure were both very different from what were alledged or proposed: that these dissensions had been long growing and gathering, were too deeply rooted, and become too inveterate for any temporary expedient to remove.

They saw, and I am sure they know what I have intimated to be true, the *Sectarians* in one province nursed up to pride and insolence, to such opinion of their own importance, that nothing ought, nor any thing could be refused to them which they were pleased to demand, and that after often demanding, without success, they had a right to force compliance, and by violence to extort it.

In the other they saw poor unhappy souls groaning under oppression! galling oppression! such as even beasts without kicking would not endure, where their bonds gave them room to kick, instigated by wicked priests, headed and led on by men of their own profession, who felt none of it, to endeavour by their united strength, to shake off the load, to find if in none other way some relief in a general confusion.

Some day or other the secret may come out, all I pretend to determine about the point, at present, is this, that in both cases there were people behind the scenes, playing off the puppets, who did not think fit to appear on the stage; and upon the whole, every observant spectator must form this judgment, that competitions for power and popularity were the impulsive causes in both, and who can answer that similar phenomena, the signs of a crazy and sickly state, shall not in two or three revolving suns
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be seen again? an oblique intimation was made, as if government had been heartless and remiss: are they who make it duly informed, how far it had been adviseable or convenient for them to push on the inquiry? they have sometimes oppositions to struggle with, that give full employment to what wit they bring with them: they have no temptation to foment factions: their wisdom is to be quiet themselves, and keep others so.

What might have happened, had not Mr. C——s been intercepted: what madness and folly people, in many respects so fit to be the dupes of enterprizing knaves, might have run into, no one can say: but, in general, without some intervening cause, to introduce general confusion, the Papists of *Ireland* are in no respect the objects of terror and affrightment, except I say, at such a crisis, when so many conspiring causes might instigate and hurry them on to their own undoing: in their present languid, heartless, and helpless state, I can view them with as little fear or concern as the *French peasant* it is said did the landing of the *English troops at Cherbourg* *. Some transient momentary inconveniencies may at times be felt, from ways undoubtedly in their power to annoy us: but from them nothing ought, nothing can be apprehended, to shake the foundations upon which the Protestant settlement will immovably stand as long as they are at unity among themselves: a thing, which we may recommend, but seldom, I fear much at heart, with the leaders of the different classes.

* Hist. Last war.

I would

I would be glad to be informed in what view, upon what accounts, or for what reasons, the Papists of *Ireland* are so formidable, as to give a Protestant government any uneasiness? is the spirit of their religion fiery, fierce and vindictive, where are the means or opportunities of exerting it? what is there to call it out, what to carry it forward, what to exercise it upon? what is their power or strength? where are their arms, or implements of war? their forts or their castles, their places of refuge or defence; are they so mad as to give themselves up to slaughter? are they so infatuated, or blind as not to see that by any essay to rebel, this would inevitably be the consequence? — Are we afraid of their numbers? the disparity indeed is still too great; but till a way is found to increase our own, I doubt whether we ought even to wish, that theirs were less; they are in so many respects, not only useful but necessary: — it will be time enough to think of parting with them; when it can be proved that the Nation would be richer and happier without them: if no powers of human understanding can do this, let them, in God's name, stay where they are, and let better means be employed to meliorate both their condition and our own: the sound of popery, I confess is odious, but not so terrible: I hate the thing, but have great charity for the men, especially when I see them so humble and helpless, as to be utterly incapable, even if they were inclined to it, to do me hurt: a viper, or a wasp are noxious and offensive animals: men justly avoid and keep out of their way, or destroy them when they cannot. But when we know one hath lost its sting, and the poison is whipt out of the other, they affright us no longer: notwithstanding
their

their buzzing and hissing, we not only suffer them to come about us, but can familiarly handle and play with them.

How it will be demanded, are their numbers to be lessened? affirmatively, 'tis not my province to answer: I have no authority to prescribe in the case, I can have no voice in the determination: — negatively I may, not by harshness and severity, for two reasons; that it will inflame the disorder, and bring on new paroxysms, or at least protract the cure, and make it the work of as many ages to come, as have been spent in quacking with it already.

We have a large code of Laws, under the title of *Acts to prevent the further growth of popery*: I wish gentlemen would consider (1) how far these laws have answered, I will not say the design of them, but even the title of them, and (2), how far some of them may be vindicated, upon the common principles of justice and humanity: they have disarmed Papists, and they have taken away their property, but have they either reduced their numbers, or changed their manners, or reconciled their affections, or reformed their habits, or their principles? I am clear in the opinion, and cannot think myself at liberty to dissemble the truth; that they have, on the contrary, alienated their affections, rivetted their prejudices, have rendered them more obstinate and uncomplying, and have driven them to every deviseable mean to fortify their hearts, to increase and strengthen their party: did ever persecution sweeten man's disposition, extinguish animosity, or propagate conformity? and how many things are there in those acts, plainly at variance with every dictate of humanity and justice? is
not

not this the very thing that we are perpetually upbraiding to them, the strongest most justifiable complaint that we have against them?

Should they retort the charge would it be unfair? what shall we say in our own vindication? after such laudable pains to purge our religion of every symptom of intolerance, I wish some more had been taken to keep it out of our laws: things retain their nature, nor do they change their qualities, by passing through different hands: I know of no way we have of proving that to be amiable, equal, or humane, in a Protestant, which renders a Papist the object of terror and detestation. — Is the theme invidious? let the objection be removed: and at least, if all the rest should stand as they are, consent to the repeal of that law: *by which a conforming son, gets a power over his father's estate, to sell the reversion, and dispose of it by will, though he should die before him*: Is there no iniquity in this? how can any man think of it without being shocked, and feeling for the unhappy sufferer in an instance of great notoriety, lately exhibited to public view: in a family of credit and unblemished reputation, in danger of being ruined, except in the wisdom and benignity of—— by some favourable construction of the law, some relief may be had: what would any Protestant, whose lot it was to be settled in a Popish country, say to such a law as this? if he could not evade it, would he not run away from it? and what better pretence would a Protestant have to complain there, than a Papist has here? this, it is true, presents to the human mind no ideas of fire or fagots, or racks or gibbets; it is neither torturing nor butchering, but it is galling, and the smart so
sensibly

sensibly felt, that whilst it rankles in their breasts, no sweet, social, or friendly disposition can ever lodge along with it.—Have we, from a principle of humanity, connived at the non-execution of many of these laws, we acted laudably and right, but here is an instance where connivance can be of no use, till human nature is absolutely divested of all those passions, which are the sources of sin : as long as there is selfishness, treachery, or ingratitude in man's nature, the evil will continue.

We are to consider that there is a double view to be served, to reclaim them from the error of their opinions, and to train them to subjection and obedience : to the first I can speak as a divine, that, without lenity and good nature, no endeavours will ever succeed. Let us bait them with ever so many temptations to turn and be converted, they will never operate with effect, whilst a sense of unmerited injury is in their minds, till the consequent resentment dies, and is obliterated : *Edward I.* after severe exactions from the Jews in *England*, ordered half of the money raised by confiscations, to be bestowed upon such as were willing to be converted to Christianity ; but their resentment, says my historian, was stronger than the temptation.—To the second, though very indifferently qualified as a politician, I can answer, from the histories of mankind, that none in the contrary method ever did succeed, and if there is some chance in one way, and none in the other, to tell which should be preferred, requires no great degree of sagacity or penetration : bring interest and duty to draw together, to concenter and run to one point, no more force will be necessary, than just to put the powers in motion, ye need not stand

stand tugging and pulling to make them follow you: they will do it of themselves, possibly with more precipitancy than ye would have them; but if ye set them in opposition, or at such unequal distances, that in running to one they may lose sight of the other, or get out of its reach, though you should have force enough to set them in motion, the same rigor and intenseness will still be necessary to continue this motion, and make it progressive: stop the directive force but a moment, intermit or relax ever so little, they will stop, and either stand still or run back, trusting to the chance that something or other, though they neither see, nor know what it may be, is somewhere or other in store for them, and at one time or other may emerge and come in their way.

After all, I may be told, (what indeed was confessed, when their case was *sub judice*)*. *That they are not to be trusted: that we cannot depend upon them: not to be trusted!* in what I pray? So far surely we may depend upon them, that they will be true to themselves, just and faithful to their heirs and interests: make the best improvement of what favours are granted them, and enjoy them with content as long as they can do it without fear. This is all that I would ask of them? this is all that I think the case requires: we are not recommending them to any lucrative or honourable employment: to be made ambassadors or secretaries, privy-counsellors or senators, judges or generals, Justices of the peace, or even grand-jury-men (all of them privileges for which many Protestant gentlemen seem to think, there are al-

* Tryal of the Rom. Cath. 1762.

ready too many competitors) we would have every power and every trust kept out of their hands, by which they would be able to hurt either us, or themselves:—and if this is all they desire, or sue for: if this will content them: if this will secure their allegiance: if this will tie them to their country, so that they will neither run away from it, nor betray it: what humanity? what religion can there be in the heart of the man who would refuse it? new modes of thinking, new methods of reasoning: new systems of divinity and morality, must obtain before it will be possible for any one in the character of a Protestant, upon sincere Protestant principles, to say a word against it.

We have all been used to consider these things in such a different point of view, so many different arguments from so many different topics, have been urged, or may perhaps be repeated, that the conclusion will, I doubt, still stick with some: if no more than this is desired, where is the occasion, I may be told, for saying any thing about it? are they not in possession of all they claim already? is the free exercise of their religion any where denied them? how long is it since mulcts or fines have been levied for recusancy? in respect of property they have not the same protection by law with every other subject: they have equal wages for their labour: free to exercise themselves in such ways of industry as they like best, and are suited to their respective conditions and capacities, with as much freedom and as little restraint as I can.

It is they reply (except as before excepted) all true: but how long may this continue? the fluctuating opinions of men: their more inconstant humours;

humours; the instability of counsels, and the evil influences which the best of princes and governors are exposed to, without design, or any concurrence of their own, all conspire to disturb their repose and make them anxious and uneasy about what is to come: who can promise himself that the same generosity, benevolence, sweetness of nature, &c. which characterise our present amiable sovereign, may be the ruling qualities in his successor? that he shall be neither imperious, cruel, nor vindictive, or shall not by any pique or disgust, conceived by weakness, or aggravated by misrepresentation, let loose the penal laws in all the rigor of the letter, and first angry intention of them.— Should a prince so disposed and situated arise, tools and ministers to execute the purposes of his will, will never be wanting, as long at least as law will be on their side, and no one either may, or can call them to account or punish them: the indulgence therefore which in some points they of late have felt, though it is refreshing, and hath had some salutary effects, is at highest no more than a reprieve, and never can be the spring of sincere and permanent joy, till it is confirmed to them by some more certain and durable tenure.

What numerous boding contingencies are there in the way to disturb this repose? even in the most promising prospect in which things can be placed. Should every succeeding prince be happily endowed with the same good qualities, duly apprized too of all his subjects wants and deserts, they may still, they will argue, not have it in their power to gratify their inclinations: Protestants, on whom it is to be presumed they will always most rely, may fall out among themselves: they have done
so

so heretofore, they may do it again: innumerable casualties may set them by the ears, and in that case, the party which the prince may incline to favour, as most friendly to his interests, may happen to be the weakest or least violent, and whilst others are driving him into measures, which he does not approve, new inodiating names be invented or antiquated ones revived; and those who would shew them any kindness may be represented as *malignants*, as Papists in disguise, and blackened with all the opprobrious epithets which the sourness of party can coin, or give currency to; in such conjunctures, and such are easily imagined, because such are not yet out of memory, what will they say is to become of us? where are we to fly for shelter? to whom are we to look for protection? the laws are yet in force: the magistrate, if called upon, dare not refuse to put them in execution: by refusing he puts himself into the class of delinquents: regard to personal safety will oblige him to run along with the tide: he cannot mitigate the sentence: he dare not suspend the execution: we shall then say they be exposed, and too probably feel to our undoing, all the harshness and severity which fanaticism or phrensy, weakness or fear, envy or malice, or any other bad quality may prompt and inspire: what is there in the way to alleviate or to soften, to control or to stop the machinations of any angry or incensed neighbour? if so, what ease, comfort, or contentment, can we have in our present condition? is not this a pitiable estate? who can make the survey without sympathizing? hush, my good friends, till we whisper a word in your ear: it is at such a conjuncture only that we can be terrible or hurt you: if such should
ever

ever happen, we may do what all mankind would do in the same circumstances, compute where our own true interest lies : make the best terms we can for ourselves, go to those who offer most : thrown into either scale, we should be a great weight, apt to cast the balance : make sure of us, now ye have us : it is not from us that your constitution is in danger : ye have more to apprehend from domestic demagogues, than from foreign invasions.

Say, these dangers are so remote as not to be apprehended, no signs of any approaching storm to be observed, no symptoms of a crazy or sickly state, the wheels of government running all smoothly and glibly on, and in regard to themselves or their little property remaining, they had nothing to fear ; still it may deserve to be considered whether, in sound policy, the laws now in force can be rationally defended ? our way of worship is connived at, of a good while we have not been disturbed on that account : we acknowledge it and are thankful. But is this right ? are we fit to be connived at, we ought to be tolerated, till we are ; will your establishment be in any manner or in any degree served by it ? put our ease and satisfaction out of the question, and consider the matter on the footing of sound reason and common sense.

In *January*, 1756, when an act for registering Popish priests, and granting a kind of legal toleration to that religion, was on the tapis : I had some conference on the subject with a late most R. P——, whose lust of power gave, at all times, the byas, as well to his judgment as to his passions :

sions: * in the debate, in his costive way, he spoke long and warmly against the bill, not from principle, or any national interest to be served by it, but merely to oppose the noble lord who had not consulted him, and who stood to the side of the L—— L——, with whom HE had not then come to terms: the Cath. leaders had indeed paid their court to him on the occasion, and he had in view, as he had lost ground with the opposite sectarians a little before that, to be popular with them: but had they been Mahometans or Pagan idolaters, he would have done exactly the same, without ever thinking of the duties of his department, or how the establishment in consequence might be affected. A matter that I verily believe never once employed his thoughts, or any of his time, when he could find ways to shift it off.

At that time, at his own desire, I put into his hands previous to the debate, a paper containing such reasons for and against the bill as seemed to me most obvious and urgent, in the form it was then presented, and as it may serve to illustrate the point now before us, and may possibly be of some use on a future occasion, when something analogous may come under consideration, I have ventured to throw it into the Appendix, as I find it among my papers: whether in the hints there communicated, the reader may think himself in-

* To vindicate this censure a larger induction of particulars may be thought necessary: but this is not the place for it: the writer therefore takes this opportunity of advertising the public, that in a work now in hand; (a sort of political and ecclesiastical history of his own times) this portrait with some other coætaneous characters will be exhibited at length, if life and health may give him time to finish it.

terested he is to judge ; but the time may not be far off, when there may be occasion to call them to mind : some of them I foresee Papists will object to, as thinking themselves upon a level with other sectarians : Presbyterians they will say were tolerated without registering their priests, why not us ? I answer the cases are not equal : if their clergy have any indelible character, they have no religious orders to swarm in upon us, and impoverish their people, or to keep up their attachment to a foreign jurisdiction : these are insufferable burdens on the poor natives, and dangerous engines in respect of the state, wherever they are admitted : let them pretend what they will concerning Catholics in general, these are the servants of the pope, instituted and sworn to do his will : to be considered as his holiness's recruiting officers, sent hither to drain off our specie, and corrupt our subjects.

Desirous as I am of contributing to their ease I must suspect their sincerity and good meaning, if they stand upon this : the free exercise of their religion is all they have a right to challenge : they must not, will not pretend that these things are institutions of Christianity ; there were no monastic orders in the apostolic age : they are not in the credenda, nor among their sacraments : *passé over*, if it should serve ever so many other turns, will not reach to these their office is not to teach : they are at highest by their own accounts, to be considered only as points of discipline, things in a fluctuating condition to be altered or omitted at discretion *.

* Apology.

I will

I will yield to them, that if a religion is fit to be connived at, it is fit to be tolerated: if it is not fit to be tolerated, it ought not to be connived at: to grant as Protestants in general do that men in that communion may be saved, is saying enough to inforce toleration; after this no question remains, but how the interest of the community as connected with the establishment, and in subordination to it, (if that is to be perpetuated) may be affected: if the power of government in respect of these orders could be questioned, the example of all foreign popish states now before our eyes, is enough to decide it.

The *apologist* saucily, sometimes affecting a sneer, gets out of his line, and forgets his character, and the *considerer* sometime carps without reason: the first did not perhaps mean all that his words import when he said, *that zeal for proselyting would cool and abate under ease and indulgence*; but this is none of his paradoxes, let nature go its own way, that will always be its course: security and repose are the parents of indulgence and sloth: in that state animal spirits subside, and as it were retire into cells, nerves and sinews all relax: men rarely beat about or hunt for game that will strain or fret, or bring on much lassitude: are the established clergy in this matter less industrious than the sectaries, it is accounted for from the premises.

If the reformers in *Germany* or *France*, had not been more zealous and eager than the ruling Catholics, they had never grown up to such consideration: great is the power and prevalence of truth, but the whole of the event, as often as it hath made its

way is not to be scored to that : what occasion to man the heart with fortitude, when there is no prospect that it will be called to trial ? lulled and taking its *Siesta* in the downy tranquil *Sopha*, why fatigue and vex themselves ? *if the negligence and corrupt manners of the English clergy* give them any advantage, or in any degree raise their hopes and expectations, we had formerly the same against them : in the circling edies of fluctuating contingencies, this is their day ; ours is happily over and gone : the fat abbot carried in a sedan, to the foot of his throne where he had two steps to ascend, obliged for the benefit of anhelation to rest on the first, leaning on his elbow and devoutly ejaculating, *O blessed Jesu ! what do I suffer for thy sake !* is a lively picture of what these keen spirits now stimulated by anguish and distress, once were and would be again in a reverse of fortune : the human mind seldom looks farther than to the means of enjoyment, when it has no danger or difficulty to face.

Let me, even if it should be thought a digression, pursue the hint a little further : when the disciples of an *independent whig* have got together, it is not unpleasant to hear them canting and chiming on these thread-bare topics : do men really imagine (have an eye to the constitution in its hierarchical form) that the sons of our nobility and gentry, taking orders only to qualify them for the highest and most honourable degrees : bred up in luxurious and effeminate delicacy : in their sable vests, and silk cassocks, their perfumed gloves and handkerchiefs, rarely treading but upon *Persian* carpets, will buckle to the servile offices of the ministerial function ? men starting from the low
estate

estate of a mechanic or a farmer, proud of this preferment, will drudge in it, and such must be provided : for the others it doth not seem to have been designed by the institution, that part of it I mean, which is confessedly civil or political : in the very distinction of deacons and presbyters, some will incline to think they can trace it. There are but two choices, subordination or parity : and if the rector or dignitary living among his people, administering to their wants, encouraging them in the ways of piety and virtue, by example, by hospitality, by beneficence, shall be thought to have answered the design of the institution, where this is regularly enforced, none but fools will look for more ; this would content even those who never share in our administrations, and who by their example are always encouraging that neglect of sacred offices, which is so much the mode of the age.

We are not to wonder that gentlemen who have never lived among us, or perhaps have never been here, and know nothing of our internal state, form imperfect and inadequate ideas of the things upon which our health and prosperity depend ; do they know by what springs our *Hibernian* machine is set in motion ? what the concerted plan (if indeed there is any) upon which we act is : whether the animating and directing powers have any fixed and determinate object before them ? when even we who are upon the spot, and not unobservant cannot penetrate, or see, so far into these things, as to know what they would be at.

Why do you say so ? for many reasons : particularly in regard to these *Irish* Catholics, about whom, tho' by the lowest accounts, they make
still

still near three fourths of the aggregate whole, we seem to be as indifferent, as unconcerned, as if we had nothing to say to them, and cared neither where they went or what became of them : they tell us themselves in all their addresses, apologies, &c. as oft as they think they have any chance for being heard without ambages or mincing, that their distress by poverty and oppression is no longer to be borne : that they must and will run away from it — They would rather stay, but how can they help it ? they have no abiding property — Be the successes of their industry what it will : no part of it can be realised — Would they lend out their money, they can have no legal security ; by strained constructions of law, which the national representatives refused to explain in their favour, it might be wrested from them — Multitudes have gone away : great numbers are on the wing ready to follow — In their passage they have nothing to clog or incumber them — They have nothing to take with them but what they can carry in their pockets, and if they run any hazard of being rifled and searched, they can with ease send it before them — In that way large remittances have already been made — So many, that our wealthiest and most understanding merchants and manufacturers feel very sensibly already the decay : and without any shyness or reserve, not only express their apprehensions of this weakening consumption, but would be content, rather than let it go on, to give them their own terms : don't, reader, take my word for this—ask the men—be they Churchmen or Dissenters, they will own it.

May we protract the page, to consider, or rather to guess, if we can, why these privileges have

have been so long refused them : by this time I must presume I stand acquitted of any latent attachment to their religion, and ingenuously I confess, that if my mind furnished me with any tolerable argument against granting those privileges, I would honestly let it out ; but after beating about, and revolving over and over every thing that has occurred, I have not been able to fix upon any one thing that has the air, or by any art of mine could be wrought into the form of one, and yet how are these distressed people forced to supplicate, as for alms, and thankfully accept any thing that is given them, though ever so little, or so liberally.

Politics I consent is a science, and one of the surest leading principles in it is, *that power follows property*, more or less in spite of all legal restrictions ; on the other hand, it is however as discernible, that restrictions may be contrived to make the attendant power very slight and inconsiderable : so that whatever figure, influence or authority, a man's portion of it may give him among his inferior neighbours, in his little private orb, it shall never bear him company in the scenes of public business, where national concerns are consulted, and transacted, so as to give him dignity or importance : let us consider the use and effect of one particular restriction : by law the right of voting at elections of representatives is confined to men who have lands in freehold for life, or lives : hence a man, though a poor mechanic, or an ignorant peasant, who by his holding has to the value of forty shillings, acquires more significance, power and weight, than a gentleman of five hundred pounds a year, though he earns his bread perhaps
by

by labouring for him : if the other be a Papist, with a tenure that is determinable : clearly therefore, a Papist by holding land for life, or lives, excluded from the privilege of voting, neither becomes more powerful, or dangerous, than if his tenure were only for twenty or thirty years : he gets by this no power over the state, nor in it : but the state gets great power over him : because he has then an interest in it, that will endear it to him, he will neither run away from it nor betray it : but under the certainty that he cannot be disturbed whilst he lives, and that after him his child may have the profit of his industry, he will cheerfully and heartily go to work, and make the best of it he can for himself and his child : why should we grudge them this mean of being reconciled to their own state, of one pleasing reflection to comfort than for the loss of so many privileges and benefits as one way or other they have lost. If they would be benefitted, so would the public ; the lands would be better cultivated, the country would become healthier, and more delightful to the eye, population would increase, and so would wealth — We are daily reproaching these unhappy people with their spirit of laziness : it is indeed characteristic, but shall we wonder at it ? whose fault is it ? their own or their task masters ? under the same common motives and incitements, why shall we suppose that this stamp of degeneracy would not wear off ? — And pray of whom hath government the best hold, whose allegiance and fidelity may be most depended upon, his who has no permanent and abiding property, or his, who hath ? — The thing has such demonstrative evidence, that it will not bear reasoning — Let it be supposed that that most impolitic of all
impolitic

impolitic measures, (I mean what is called the Trustee act passed near the close of King WILLIAM'S reign, absolutely precluding any Papist from holding any of those lands which had been forfeited by the adherers to King JAMES, for any term of years) had never been taken, by lease or purchase some of those lands might have got into the hands of other Papists, can it be imagined, that the lessees the purchasers, the occupiers, in case of any subsequent revolution would have give them up to the old proprietors, or that to forward any revolution they would have fought on the side, which if successful might dispute their claim? or would not defend them against every claimant at the hazard of their lives? are Papists so complaisant to one another? are they less tenacious of their rights than other men? do they never know how to judge of their interest, or where it lies?

The colour of an objection indeed lies against what has been called the *Allegiate Bill*, as likelier in time to give them that power which affrights and may hurt: by leaving a mortgage upon a Protestant's estate for twenty, ten or five thousand pounds, I acquire great power and ascendancy undoubtedly over the proprietor: now it being the case of most of our landed gentry to be generally indigent and borrowing, Papists in time, if they are the only monied men among us, might haply get so many of the Commons into their clutches, as might make this a very serious affair, as might turn the balance against the constituents, and vest in them the power of *instructing* at least with effect: and in case the trade of funding should obtain among us, as it seems not to be far off, the whole
national

national credit might in time lie at their mercy, and then worse consequences than any that have been yet mentioned, might be apprehended: but these events though seriously urged to me, seem rather at too great a distance to give immediate alarm, and are not of weight in the scale of equity to preponderate against the iniquity of exposing any set of men, who bear equal burden in all necessary imposts and taxes, to be plundered by informers and bills of discovery *, things of no use, but to support worthless wretches, incapable of getting forward, or rising in their profession but by such base and infamous arts.

Are we for ever to be inattentive to the things that concern us most? are we never to be awakened to duty or interest but by suffering and pain? should these birds of passage fly off to a warmer and more hospitable clime where they may with safety build their nests and rear their young, what will become of the remaining fourth part? who will till the land, or gather the fruits into their barns? who will carry them to market,

* If the restraints laid on Papists with regard to purchasing, taking leases, &c. be equal, reasonable and necessary, there can be no objection to their being subject to a discovery, for without this, the laws would be liable to infinite evasions, and could have no effect. As to the *gavel*, the present possessor is never affected by it, it does not operate till after his demise, so that the complaints on account of it are not many nor loud, all therefore I shall observe upon it is, that if any great weight of property remained in the hands of Papists, I should be afraid of it, as in time it might greatly affect and lead on to some change in our constitution: it is a kind of *AGRICULTURE*, suited only to petty democratical states.

who

who will buy them, who will consume them :
 who will pay the rents, &c. &c.

The detail is too long : there is no necessity for going over it minutely : the dullest head among us, except by wretchedness already become insensible, will easily imagine how it would affect him : how destitute, forlorn and comfortless his condition would instantaneously become ; at once we should be in that state which envious and ignorant people on the other side of the water wish to see us, *breeders of cattle for them* : about five or six hundred thousand of both sexes young and old : (the highest Protestants in *Ireland* can yet be computed at) left to the enjoyment of about sixteen millions of acres : a fine heritage, a noble property, if we could afterwards tell what to do with it : like so many *Rob. Crusse's*, how peaceably might we sit down every man by himself, with nobody to disturb, or dispute our right, or invade our possessions : no turbulent neighbour to break down our inclosures : no petty-fogging practitioner to file bills of discovery, to serve us with ejectments or injunctions : no officers of excise, no taxes, imposts, or tythes : no care nor anxiety about any thing to come : no toiling or spinning for food or raiment ; decked by nature like the lilies of the field : fed like the fowls of the air with the spontaneous products of the earth, and what is still better, freed at once from all those evils, which the debasing passions of avarice, luxury and ambition bring on : enchanting blissful scene ! who would not chuse to have a part in it ? are any of us so enamoured with the prospect, sketched by these faint out-lines ; he may easily enlarge and embellish it in his own imagination : not gradually

ally creeping on by a lingering and slow decay, where varying symptoms will often raise illusory hopes of some turn or change, but like a thunder-bolt breaking at once upon us ; by a sudden irresistible shock, benumbing and deadening every active power, drying up and withering every nerve and sinew ; stopping the circulation of every vital juice, suspending at once every office and function of our admired political oeconomy.

Son of man, can these dry bones live ? when the vital juices are all exhausted, the flesh and skin shriveled and dried up, by what power or principle, can they be re-united, knitted, and brought again to life and motion ? shall every power of nature be put out of course for our sake ? will God create a new thing ? will he, think we, out of the stones of the street raise us up children ? whence can the supplies necessary to fill up so many vacancies come from ? the mother country (as she is called) whatever parental affection she may bear to us, hath few, I fear, if any to spare. What children she hath heretofore sent us, we have suckled and nursed with such care as might indeed encourage her to send us more, but, as I have said, I doubt whether of the kind we want she hath any redundancy, with demands upon her from so many and different quarters, so many and so great : say she could spare annually some hundreds even in that way the operation would be too slow, to raise the slightest hope, that the actors in the present scene, the present immediate sufferers should reap any benefit by it, be any way the sharers in the good it might produce.

According

According to the calculations of sir *W — P —* the ordinary term for the doubling of mankind in *England* is about 360 years: if so, we will say that then things might begin to mend, *i. e.* the country might by that time be so populous, that like the partridge and growse upon our mountains, we might be within call of one another, and in case of any hostile invasion, by beacons at proper distances, summoned and brought together for common defence: but before we could crowd and jostle as we do now, to raise the price of labour, the value of commodities and the rent of land: to set craft and ingenuity again to work, to improve and embellish, the multiplication must be much quicker than the *knicht* supposes, or time must be allowed for another doubling.

An ingenious modern * maintains I know against me, that in a state like what we have been describing: propagating as fast as nature would allow, and coupling as soon as the sexes came to age of puberty, the human species, would more than double every generation: but this is upon a supposition of (God knows how many) causes conspiring without any attending let or impediment, to which impediments, (the common obvious ones I mean) in the imagined state we have been talking of: the people remaining here would then perhaps be less exposed than they are now: but after making all the advantage of it, it will bear, no reasonable expectation can be grounded upon it, that the posterity even of a fourth or fifth generation would find

* *Mr. Hume.*

themselves

themselves in the same state of opulence, power, grandeur and consideration, that the bulk of us seem to think we stand in at present.

Six hundred years have already passed since this island was annexed to the *British* empire, and tho' causes have operated more in the last hundred and fifty years, than in all the preceding, yet from a review of past oeconomy, and the measures still pursued, one entire moiety it may reasonably be argued will be yet necessary to complete the design, *i. e.* to make us all *English* and Protestant, even if the *Irish* should contentedly stay with us, and if we bring into account the back sets, and interruptions it may meet with from revolutions, and other possible, though unforeseen contingencies, sceptical minds will be apt to think or say, that we have allowed more than in reason we ought, or could be demanded.

Irish advocates have indeed generally declined quoting a precedent that is such a stain and disgrace to their religion, but Protestants need not blush to refer to it: I mean the case of *Spain* since the expulsion of the *Mariscoes*. One hundred and fifty years have now passed since the perpetration of that impolitic measure of *ecclesiastical barbarism*. By that fatal measure a kingdom the most flourishing and formidable, was reduced to a state mean, despicable and wretched: the numbers expelled, in the highest accounts, were not above 900,000, here we may in the extirminating scheme lose above a million and a half: our state in proportion to theirs is not as 1 to 5. Have they yet recovered the loss? is it likely that by the best political oeconomy, they will do it in
a century

a century to come? what lesson then doth this read to the Protestants of *Britain and Ireland*? this surely: to beware of committing a blunder of the same kind; and if they don't intend or design it, to take care that by neglect or mismanagement, it don't steal upon them by surprise, or unawares: if the effects of depopulation were so ruinous and wasteful there, we have abundant reason to think, that they would not be less violent or hurtful here.

Some modern Statesmen and patriots, whether from partial and selfish views (often to be suspected) or by any prophetic instinct divining that such consumptive waste might ensue, have projected *naturalization acts*, &c. to invite *Jews* and other foreigners to come among us: such projects have so much of the air of providence as to serve to amuse superficial theorists: but they are sorry shifts, like all quack medicines to be resorted to only in the last stages of a distemper when the appropriate ones have all failed: mild and equal government is the only sure promovent of population. The propensions of nature in all climates and ages, strong enough of themselves, want no incitement: remove all unnatural restraints and prohibitions, and there will be no occasion for premiums: depopulation is an evil complained of at all times, mentioned in every history almost we turn to; it might I imagine, for all that, be proved that the means for prevention have in most countries been very preposterous; the reverse often of what they should have been; no people pretend to greater refinements in the art of populating than the *British*, the constitution of the government is singularly adapted to promote it,

but

but if such freedom may be used without censure or offence, it is not I would say so evident, that some of our laws do not strongly counteract the general intention.

If then things be in truth as we have stated them: if they have even probability on their side: if reckoning the numbers we have, and computing by the experience of the last seventy or eighty years, that by equal paces in peaceful industry we have the prospect in a commensurate or less space of time, or having as many hands and mouths as we shall have lands to feed or arts to employ: what shall hinder? what can be done wiser or better, than to keep those we already have, and make the best of them: to give such reasonable encouragement as may induce them to stay: to treat them with such tenderness as may give a turn to their affections, to consider us not as aliens and enemies, but as adopted brethren, kinsmen and friends, at length so intermingled and twisted, as to have the same common interest to pursue, and only the same chances for being prosperous and happy.

S E C T.

S E C T. VII.

WE have been already told, that without *unity in interest* unity in affection is impossible: a thing that never did, never can exist: could a Protestant missionary with even a power of working miracles, come here, and in the business of profelyting be as successful as St. *Patrick* is said to have been, I doubt, whether even then, they might be implicitly and securely relied on, as long as so many discouragements and restraints in point of interest continue: the propelling power of religion is undoubtedly very strong; but the attractive power of interest, I imagine, is stronger: can it be shewn that ever there was a competition between them, wherein the latter did not carry it? if so, we have plainly begun at the wrong end, and must alter our course: let the stronger principle be set in motion, less time and pains will be necessary for the other: would men but for a moment make the case their own, they would not want to be reasoned with: what natural complexional difference is there between an *English* and an *Irish* man? does being a Papist or a Protestant change the genius, so as to inspire different sentiments and affections? in what cases do we ourselves run cordially and freely to duty, when interest calls us off, or by its louder and more commanding voice advises us to halt? where the lines are strongest and plainest, so plain as not to be mistaken, how often do the best of us deviate, how broken and irregular is our course? when their power is united, when

N

they

they invite and draw together, with what alacrity are we carried forward? how easily, how successfully do we go on? it deserves then to be considered, whether in the business of proselyting any considerable progress will ever be made, till the inward ulcer rankling in their hearts is healed and removed.

But hold! methinks I hear some sage and shrewd politician pertly replying——that against the greatest part of what we have now advanced “*Experience daily remonstrates*: that scarce a weekly journal comes out without new and pleasing accounts of people in different parts of this kingdom renouncing the errors of Popery. Doth not this shew that things are hastening to the point we would have them, consequently that we are right, and by steadily pursuing our course we shall at long-run certainly get our port: by changing, all the good of the incapacitating laws will be lost: repeal them and you will hear of no more conversions: all other methods have failed, let us not part with the only one, which hitherto hath had any effect.”

It is fine talk! but are we simple enough to be lulled and soothed by such vain discourse? don't we see them laughing, not with a side wink, but openly and loudly at our simplicity, as often as they hear us talking in this strain? boldly † telling us, what indeed, we were generally and with reason shy of telling them, that these converts the bulk of them, are hypocrites, and have no other meaning by reading these recantations but to save

† Apol. p. 96, 97.

their estates; or to serve some other temporary end; and that were they ten times as many we ought not to plume ourselves, on events which neither weaken them nor give strength to us.

Nothing could give me more pleasure than to see a respectable number of these converts, by some authentic remonstrance publicly vindicating themselves from the horrid imputation by which they have been indiscriminately branded by this last apologist; till they do this I am justly warranted, and surely can give no offence by laying hold of the suggestion in support of my argument: admitting what the author says to be true, it proves to demonstration that Protestants overween and deceive themselves, if they imagine that by such conversions, the number of their friends is increased.

On so tender a point let me be indulged in a word or two more: it is I know, no uncommon art with them to vilify and load these APOSTATES, as they affect to call them, with all the scandal they can invent: this was notoriously the case of Mr. Bower and Mr. Archbold, &c. * and this shews

N 2

how

* Among other things objected to these gentlemen by the society they had deserted, this was one, *that they were tired of lying alone, intimating that they changed their religion only to satisfy carnal concupiscence*: I am far from believing it to have been the case of either, but I will reason with them upon the supposition that it was: and ask them, whether any man needs a better or any other reason for separating from their church; than the unnatural restraints, which it lays upon human nature in this matter, for which they have no authority in Scripture, and for which I am bold to say even Scripture could not be a sufficient warrant: I believe in general the gentlemen of the sodality of *Jesus* are of the ladies mind of whom *Bayle* tells the

how galling such desertions are, consequently that very little respect can be due to any thing that comes from them in this way : but still it must be allowed, that there is enough in it, to answer the purpose for which it is here adduced, in proof of our general observation, that Protestants are out in their reckoning, when from such accounts, even if the numbers were double of what comes to our hearing, that the grand design of extirpating Popery is considerably advanced, or forwarded. †

By this method of reclaiming instead of disarming Papists we really give them arms, bring in upon ourselves so many spies, and give them both the power and the opportunity of doing us hurt and availing themselves of our weakness: far be it from me either to speak or think with this author: it is in such cases I know prudent to dissemble our suspi-

the following story, *Sur l' Article Eloise*. She had married a Prebendary, who quitted his prebend for love of her, that he might be at liberty to marry: the day after he said to her: *See, my life, how well I love you, since to have you I have parted with my prebend. You were a fool, says the wife; for doing so, you might have kept your prebend and had me too.*

† *Pere Charlevoix* tells a story of one *Teizo*, a renegade, or apostate from the faith, who during the persecution in *Japan*, had been an informer and evidence against two of the *Portuguese* missionaries: that in spite of the governor's lieutenant who favored them, were used with the greatest cruelty by means of this apostate: upon which he makes this remark, "*que fait voir qu'un infidele peut avoir de la probité, et du sentiment, mais que rarement une renégat, est une bonne homme*, liv. 15. p. 267. might not then one ask those rev. missionaries, why they are at such travel and pains to make converts, since in their own account every convert is necessarily a villain: is it the kingdom of *Christ*, or the Pope's kingdom that is at heart?

gions:

cions : to careſs them when they come may encourage others to follow ; ſtill it is friendly to remind them, that a thing of this kind eſpecially in the manner it is told, with an air of banter and ridicule from one who may be ſuppoſed to be in the ſecrets of Popery, and privy to their ſentiments and deſigns, will unavoidably raiſe prejudices, which well, or ill founded muſt do them ſome hurt.

It will be ſaid, indeed, I have heard it ſaid, “ that we are intereſted in the *being* of theſe people, but not of their *well being* : that a ſervile dependence on the ſtate is fitteſt for them : ſet them above this, and the conſequence will be that “ inſtead of ſubjects and ſervants, we ſhall have “ rivals and competitors ; getting power they will “ undoubtedly make uſe of it ; let them ſeize it, “ and ſee who afterwards will be able to wreſt it from them, or ſet bounds to it. Power in the “ hands of a Papiſt ever hath been, and ever will “ be the inſtrument of miſchief : what ſecurity can “ Proteſtants have but in their weakneſs, and “ depression ? ”

in complaiſance to the gentlemen whoſe half witted diſcourſe this is : we will ſuppoſe that it is all true : to what I aſk doth it amount ? to this and no more that I can ſee : that *Iriſh* Papiſts, like all the other combinations of mankind, are and would be diſpoſed to do the beſt they could for themſelves : and as often as opportunity preſented or any inviting overtures came in their way, would endeavor to mend their condition, to improve their fortunes, and make ſuch ſtable and permanent acquiſitions, as might not only put them

them above servility and dependence, but make them respectable both to friends and enemies: it is all true, they are men, and *humani nihil alienum putant*: but what then? because such things may be imagined, are they therefore certain, and to be reckoned upon? whilst they are busy in concerting and forwarding their schemes, what will Protestants be doing all the while? like Solomon's sluggard, shall we be asleep, idly yawning and folding our hands? what in all this time, is to become of their wisdom and power, that wisdom and power, by which they first got possession, and have ever since maintained their dominion over the natives, when the property of the island was all their own, and the disparity in numbers was so much greater than now it is, or ever can be again: if such consequences may be imagined they are at least so improbable, that no man in his senses would argue upon them: to me it is demonstrable that if the natives were again in possession of all the land in the kingdom, the established government would be able to maintain itself against them; and whatever temporary inconvenience might ensue from any essays on their part to disturb it, the issue would be certain ruin to themselves, harder terms! greater restraints! more slavery! they could not keep it when they had it, what likelihood, that they shall ever be able to recover it. — *Ireland* must for ever be subject to an *English* Protestant government till *England* itself is subdued and become tributary to some Popish one. — may this also be imagined? I answer it may — but with nothing else against me, I would not hesitate a moment, if I had money enough to pay the purchase to buy every foot of land in the kingdom.

Were

Were I the sole proprietor, what would be my wisest course to secure the possession? this surely! to court the protection of *England*, to stand not quite indeed, but pretty nearly in the same relation, as we do now, yielding to her in return for that protection such recompence as would be equal and meet.

Why? why not rather set up for myself, and stand upon my own bottom, who would I be afraid of, who could hurt me? *who would I have to be afraid of?* my own tenants and vassals, tho' all the rest of the world were to look at me without jealousy, or envy; would grow factious, form parties, the weaker flying to me for shelter and aid, the stronger to deprive them of that resource, extorting a surrender of that prerogative which was my right, and necessary for the protection of the whole.

What shall we say then? are *Irish* Papists so brainless and stupid, as never to see these things, or seeing them never to reason upon them? why, or how do they differ so much from the rest of the species, as to be for ever restless to their own undoing, never to follow where interest leads: what oath, what test could the wit of man contrive to bind and oblige where personal interest and self preservation, will in every case be arguing and pleading against it? set the obligations of law against the ties of nature, can any man doubt, which will be strongest? am I wretched! the fear of increasing that wretchedness, may tie my hands, or stop my mouth: but my enmity, my aversion against the contrivers, and instigators of what I suffer,

suffer, will ever be proportioned to the degree of the evil I endure, and the greater I dread: why should I study the peace, or labor for the prosperity of a society in which I bear no part, and am not allowed to consider myself as a member? why attached to a community, to which I am connected by no endearing bond? my affections disengaged will follow, or run to those, who are, or who promise to be most friendly.

In fine, why should I weary myself or my reader by reasoning longer on a point, that hath nothing to contend with, but the obstinacy of prejudice: men may raise spectres in their own imaginations, when there are no corresponding realities in the objects about them: the principles of Popery are doubtless very bad: I have proved it to their conviction whether they will own it or no—it was from the beginning a scheme to enslave the world, carried on with great regularity for more than a thousand years, and with astonishing success:—it may still continue to disturb, and sometimes, may be, overpower the civil power in states where it is established: let those, whom it concerns look to it, but the dangers from Popery here, are none, they exist at present only in the imaginations of weak and affrighted minds:—if we will take Dr. SWIFT's word for it, it was the case forty years ago: weak, spiritless, disarmed, without courage or leaders, how is it possible that they should even have the inclination to rebel, have they either means or motives: motives to set them on, or means to go forward?

In one respect their state is indeed different from what it was when that celebrated genius wrote this:

this: they have money and are comparatively wealthy to what they were then; but then the only danger from that consideration, is, that inhibited from realising it here, they may be tempted to send it abroad, and go after it themselves: by the importunity of their addresses they shew however, that they have no inclination to this: so that if either *common sense*, or *good nature* are to guide our judgments, the conclusion to be drawn is, *that the incapacitating laws have at present no just object, and ought to cease.*

This is my inference totally disagreeing with the author of the considerations; which is supported by the strongest evidence: the reader, will judge for himself; public wisdom must judge and decide for us all, to whom, tho' I am at liberty to arraign and impeach past counsels and measures, I neither ought nor pretend to prescribe; if they in their collective body, (sensible and unprejudiced) should agree with him, I ought and will acquiesce, modestly diffiding in my own capacity from some defect that I am not conscious of, or have no means of supplying, only professing, that better reasons than any I have yet heard must offer, before I can be convinced.

Upon the whole, if reason and humanity will not be heard in their behalf, till they are converted and become Protestants, let us, in God's name, turn our thoughts to the easiest shortest and most promising methods to bring them to this.

S E C T. IX.

A *Jove principium.* I will say it, tho' statesmen and libertines should laugh at me; if better care is not taken of religion, no converts will ever be made; I mean not, of their religion, but our own.

We have among us whimsical theorists who amuse themselves with the notion of a rational religion: a thing merely ideal: a thing to be talked of, but what never did, nor ever can exist, so as to serve the purposes of society: offering no control to the passions, it gives no handle by which men can be led: to make religion a governing principle men must be attached to it: But if to the doctrine which gives the idea of a spiritual being, no modes of worship are added to affect the senses, the attachment will be weak, too slender to bear what is grafted, and ought to be the fruit of it. * A society of philosophers under a philosophical prince would be a greater curiosity than ever was yet exhibited, or heard of. Neither governor, nor governed, would know what to do, or how to go about it. Whosoever hath sense enough to see the necessity, and use of religion to society would rather than have none, consent to support it even upon the footing it stands in *China* or *Japan*, where by the latest and best au-

* See Sir W— O— speech on a petition to repair the Archbishop's church of *Castel*, parl. deb. dub. 1763,

thenticated accounts it is merely a political engine, in every thing subservient to the interest of the state: "there says *Charlevoix*, † all that is required of any one is to attach himself to some sect or party; even those who do not believe the religion, or Gods of their country, never omit to pay them the prescribed worship: they don't call it hypocrisy, only the love of order, and not to give offence to the people who they know must have a restraint of this kind."

It is the fashion at present to explode all systems: the reason may be, because we have never yet seen any that were faultless and free from error: system of one kind or other, is for all that absolutely necessary: let them contend for independency who like, I am so fond of tranquility and decorum, that I shall always vote for subordination: because without it, I know every government would be torn and distracted by faction: I can bear to look up, and see others above me, but to look down and see none below me would not sit easy, to be shoved out of place by every one that was stronger than myself, and put to silence by their petulance would soon weary me of that scheme, if I was silly enough to be drawn into it. But then the ways in which every system is so liable to be put out of course, shews, that to preserve unity, there must be a very nice temperament of lenity and indulgence, of severity and restraint in our laws: to give free display to all social, sweet and good natured affections, and to correct and keep down all that are sour, ill-natured and unruly, that gain-sayers may have

† Liv. prel. ch. 5. p. 145. Par. 1736.

little to object, and every possible encouragement to accede and draw nearer.

In the exercise however of this charity, which is to give scope to all cordial affections by the allurements of convenience and favor, if due attention is not given to the strength and soundness of the constitution, to preserve the establishment in health and vigor, to preserve it from every inroad of marauding sects, the task of reconciling and preserving unity will always grow greater and stronger: if our own members are not hearty in the cause, lookers on will with reason suspect our sincerity: that we dislike it, and would be content to change or to part with it, dissenters of course will take encouragement to stand out, and the spirit of opposition will grow warmer: * if our establishment

* See Mr. Le Hunt's speech on a motion to rebuild the church of St. John's, Dublin.

When this question was bandied some years ago, a proposition was made to give the clergy in lieu of tythe an acreable rent, and a shilling an acre was commonly talked of, but an injudicious party writer (*Frien. Journal*) took upon him to say, that he was authorised by them, to say in their name, that they would compound for six-pence: who told him this? nobody I am sure, who knew what he was saying: a man whose benefice takes in 20,000 acres, as some do, and has not may be full 200l. a year out of it, would doubtless be glad to come into such composition, but how would this do for a man who has as much by the country being under tillage out of a parish of 2000 acres? would he compound for six-pence, *i. e.* would he be content to live upon 50l. instead of 200l. nonsense! twelve-pence per acre would not be an equivalent to him: it would indeed be a good bargain for the landlord, as lands discharged of tythes, would rent for at least two shillings per acres more.

But

is not respectable it will not be respected: do friends neglect, enemies will despise it: thus public leading the end and intent of every establishment will be destroyed, and the labors of the ministry will have no success: their influence depending always on their credit, take away one, and the other will cease; that ceasing instead of a support they become a burden to the state.

The complaint at present, not secret, or in whispers, but open and loud is, that they are not as useful as they might, and ought to be, and have more than an equivalent for their labors: to which idle *Eraſtian* notion, let me be heard a in few lines.

In regard of their legal maintenance under quiet enjoyment, equal and conscientious distribution—gratefully they acknowledge it would be a liberal and noble one: and yet, *hinc ille lacrymæ*: out of this, arises every thing that is objected to their reproach: tho' the wit of man after thinking of it as many times to come, as they have already, will

But perhaps even they, who have most reason and are fond-est of such exchange, have not considered what a tax this would be upon the whole nation, (setting aside the absurdity of taxing land not worth six-shillings an acre, at the same rate of lands worth thirty-shillings) say in *Ireland* there are *sixteen millions* of acres, at one shilling per acre it would make the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds: do they receive any thing like this for their tythes? how idly do people accustom themselves to talk of this matter? some little ignorant pamphleteers will tell you that instead of a 10th, the clergy get at least a 4th part of the produce of all the lands: in this view may not any one see that they have not a tenth of the rents, let alone of the produce?

never

never be able to contrive, or substitute, any mode in its place, that carrying its own reason in the face of it will equally answer the end of the institution.

What they have suffered by outrage and violence, by mobs, and riots, those transient temporary evils, which fell upon them because the wretched instruments had none other in their way against whom they dared to vent their indignation, they can generously forgive, and are disposed to forget, but against such as are abiding, and have a certain annual effect, they have a right to remonstrate, and in their turn reason to complain.

The design of laws they presume to say, is not to irritate and inflame but to cool and compose; such therefore as are made for the ascertaining of property, especially a property of this kind, ought to be as clear and precise as human language can make them: in respect of tythes and ecclesiastical dues, is this the case? look over the *code*, and be convinced it is not, "from an almost endless variety of customs," "from the uncertainty of *modus's*," "from ambiguity in many statutes:" "from new fangled distinctions to render them more perplexed, and as often as these perplexities arise in every appeal referred to the decision of partial and arbitrary judges; what embarrass must they necessarily suffer, what trials have they to endure? let the wise and impartial consider this:" why should either be at the mercy of any poaching practitioner to set them at variance? is this not to be avoided, ought not the redress to be the easiest and shortest possible?

possible? * they plead no exclusive jurisdiction, no peculiar exemptions, or privileges: content to hold under the same title and legal tenure with every other liege subject, they equally condemn the nonsense of calling *prescription sacred*, or *property inviolable*: both are true in a qualified sense, neither true in the sense they were maintained by the doughty champions: every custom and every right they hold to be alterable at the discretion of the legislature, as often as the peace, preservation, and well being of the general community require, and make it necessary.

The

* The author wishes it might be considered whether the last act about tythes, hath not made their case (bad enough before) quite remediless and desperate: To whom when aggrieved are they now to go? will officers of court, advocates and proctors, &c. chuse to attend and be in the way without fee or reward? in how many ways can they evade and shuffle it off? will judges resident in *Dublin* come down and hold consistories as often as the clergy's occasions may call them? have they surrogates whose sentence will be of equal authority? must every sentence of the consistorial judge be ratified by the verdict of a jury? and will not itinerant judges to throw off themselves the envy of either reversing or confirming these sentences in most cases impanel them? and is not this making men judges in their own cause? are any of the ambiguities of former statutes explained, or removed by this? in respect of customs and usages don't they stand just as they did? when this law passed what were our R. R. guardians doing? did they see how this would affect us? or were they regardless? it is a wonder, that the sneer and contempt offered in it to their own jurisdiction did not awaken them: when the thing comes home to themselves, and it seems to be coming, they will possibly be more attentive: from a pamphlet now before me with the copy of a *bill for settling church fines* they may see it drawing on: this pamphlet I have looked over with care; the reasoning throughout is extremely weak, no where conclusive, where it is most plausible very easily refuted: to shew how it is so, the occasion offers neither leisure, nor inducement for more than one short observation arising from what I have asserted in the foregoing paragraph. Let Mr. *Fleetwood* say what he will,

The question then is, with so many bars and impediments in the way, *how will unity of spirit in the bond of peace be preserved?* for what other reason in the constitution of the first Christian society, as I have already observed was an intercommunity of goods recommended at least, if not established? and even under the power of such a custom how short was its continuance? take away these stumbling blocks, make their † RESIDENCE safe, easy and commodious: and afterwards if they are idle, negligent and remiss spare them not: let acrimony of temper if ye will, give weight and edge to the severity of law: in fine, to quit a digression, that has led me on insensibly, and would lead much farther, were I at liberty to pursue it: if the established religion is left naked and defenceless

will, Bishops have such property in their estates as ought to be inviolable; till the good of the whole, the general interest of the community shall make it necessary either to take it away, or change the tenure, and to secure great estates to their immediate tenants and lessees without respect to those who derive under them, often in a 3d or 4th succession, will not easily be brought under that predicament: it does not yet strike me how the public is interested by an estate of 40 thousand pounds a year being in the hands of A. B. and C. rather than of D. E. and F. &c. &c. &c.

† The loudest and most plausible objection is about *non-residence*, upon which topic the author begs leave to offer a hint: in the fund of FIRST FRUITS he is informed, there is at present a sum of no less than *sixty thousand pounds*: the trustees limited in their powers can grant aids to no incumbents whose benefices are above the yearly value of one hundred pounds: it happens unfortunately that men enjoying benefices of two, three, or four hundred pounds a year are often as indigent and ill qualified, to bear the expence of building, &c. as those in the smaller ones; they are bad economists, or have been differently bred, or have large families to educate, and the modes of living so different from what they were, leave nothing to spare: or if any thing is saved, their children they think have a better

left to stand by itself, with the powers turned against it, that used and ought to support it: if powers

a better right to it, than their successors in *spiritualibus*: bishops say, that the encouragement by law is sufficient; I presume to differ from them, and say it is not: nor is the imposition equal or just, tho' they had money in hand to go to work; the incumbent who builds loses one 4th of his money expended, and the interest of the whole, till the other three parts are paid in: why is not he as deserving, as a third or fourth in succession after him? why is he impoverished to make a settlement for them? for remedy therefore of this great evil and the multifarious inconveniences attending it: the author would propose as follows. A. he will say hath a benefice of 200l B of 300l. C. 400l. they are intitled by law to expend two years intire income in building, &c. out of this said fund of *first fruits* now grown to be the object of envy *. Let 400l. be granted to A. 600l.

* Anno 1703-4, when QUEEN ANN acquainted the commons, that she intended giving away the tenths and first fruits for the augmentation of small livings: Sir John Holland and Sir Joseph Jekyl moved that the clergy might be intirely freed from that tax, and that another fund might be raised, out of which small benefices might be augmented†, and whoever considers the base original of this tax, that it was at first a Papal usurpation, and the bad uses to which it had been long appropriated, since the time it was vested in the crown, and the little or no use by imprudent management since, what a load it is upon the clergy, and how unequally it is levied, will reflect with astonishment and indignation, that it hath been to this day continued, or at least has not been put into some better course, by which the good intended by the Queen's donation, might be in some degree ascertained, and carried forward: the author tolerably well informed, is free likewise to observe, that this tax has in several instances been levied, of clergymen who were not by law obliged to pay it; by the *liber valorum*, it appears, that livings not exceeding such a value in the king's books, are not subject: if inquiry is made, he apprehends it will appear, that some have been threatened with prosecutions, and for want of being sufficiently informed, from fear of being so prosecuted, have

† See Tindal's cont. Rapin, b. 26.

powers judged unsafe in their hands are indulged to sectarians: if they have been bereaved of every mean of correcting vice, or of enforcing any duty they

800l. to B. and 800l. to C. and let proper securities be taken for the regular disbursement and application of said sums in a limited time, to be repaid in moieties, at per annum, till the whole is refunded, by the incumbents and their successors: thus he conceives infinite good may be done, and the general fund like the widow's cruse never fail or be exhausted: if the incumbent's security is insufficient, or suspected, let the bishop himself, as soon as the plan is agreed on, apply the money, or employ an undertaker, in which class they cannot be at a loss for men of character and skill, to whom the money may be advanced to provide materials and pay tradesmen; thus in five or six years every incumbent in the kingdom, who hath a glebe might be able to reside; all the popular clamor and nonsense would cease, and most of the clergy's grievances find a quick and secure redress: and at the end of thirty years at farthest, the fund will be the same or greater than it is: if the proposition should please the author, tho' aged and infirm, joyous to rid his successors of the distress he has suffered; offers himself to be the first instance, in whom the work may begin: if it is rejected, he will only add that the lust of power with hardly any thing else to work upon now, will have enough upon hand for a century to come: if they won't consent to break in upon the fund in this way: some other should be contrived to make it of some use. I heard the late *Chancellor* say (before he thought of its being so misapplied and abused as it has been since) that a law should be made to set aside *Primate Boulter's will*; am I asked in what portions or moieties, I would have it refunded? I answer, in such annual sums, as would make up the legal interest and no more: which would be equal to what a house of the same dimensions and sort would rent at in the neighbourhood of any town; in *Dublin*, undertakers tell you, if they have 7 per cent. for their money, they think it enough; but I think 5 l. would be enough for them to pay.

have actually paid it, where there was no right to levy it, is there no part of the legislature, who think it their duty to inquire into these matters? if there is, how many grievances have the inferior clergy to complain of which call for redress; particularly in exactions of illegal fees, &c.

they teach: of their labour what fruit can be expected? will Dissenters be reconciled? will even their own congregations be edified? what pains do some men take to prove that they are as bad politicians as they are churchmen? without inconvenient prolixity there is no going farther: *let the establishment be well fenced and hedged in, or away with it altogether: if it don't deserve our care, why do we keep it? Religionem aut undique tolle, aut usquequaque conserva.* CIC.

When I talked of encouraging and alluring Recusants and Dissenters to come in: my meaning was not to do this by bribes, or by promises of reward; a sum of ten thousand pounds annually assigned over to the DUBLIN-SOCIETY, to be distributed in premiums to such as should publicly renounce the errors of Popery: to the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, &c. in each province and county a sum of ——— in proportion to their ranks, capacities and merits: would, I doubt not, have claimants; in each revolving season, enough might be found to give in their names: and if no more is necessary to make a good Churchman, than to recant in a prescribed form, the money could not perhaps be better laid out; but their last apologist hath raised so many doubts and scruples about the insincerity of such conversions, that I begin to think, that if no other means of reclaiming can be hit off, it is better to trust them as they are: (I am not clear in the opinion, that the *sincerest Papist is the honestest Papist*, though an ingenious *dissertator* affirms it: I don't love playing upon words, sincerity and honesty are in my account pretty nearly the same; but a sceptical inquirer is for all that a better character; and

where this is the real one, to affect the appearance of a sincere Papist, hath very little of honesty in it.) This is not the method of alluring that I would chuse to recommend : the cords, I would draw with, are the cords of a man : cords that draw the affections along with the person : that imperceptibly win upon him, and give a bias that nature is seldom able to resist or throw off. If there are no means by which this may be accomplished ; certain I am that there are many by which it may be tried : and all the logic in *Aristotle*, nor all the rhetoric in *Demosthenes* would ever convince me that it is not of duty to try it : Penal Laws are not the thing, even conniving at the execution of them does not come up to it : *if perfect love casteth out all fear*, any degree of fear will cool or prevent love : all subjects are to be considered as children and servants : who are always obedient in proportion as their parents and masters are indulgent and gentle.

But it is not only the powers and privileges of the Church that are to be fenced and made respectable, but likewise its forms ; the mode and dress it appears in should be such, as will render it amiable and venerable : the reason holds equally here as in all civil concerns : rank and quality should be distinguished by such exterior badges and ornaments as may point out and direct where respect is due, if we expect to be treated when we go abroad, and appear among strangers as gentlemen, we must not put on the dress of a peasant or clown. The author of the Considerations, so often referred to, has informed us, that among the arts of alluring and inveigling practised by Papists, one is, to throw open their Chapel doors in the day time,
that

that passers by may have a prospect to the Altar, to see the decorations and trappings with which it is set out: and though to the gaudy meretricious, I will call it attire of Popery, I am as much an enemy, I am free to contend with him, that there is a medium between that and slovenliness, formerly the mark of another sect, which ought to be observed. There is at least a *simplex Munditiis*, what in the Old Testament is called the *Beauty of Holiness* †, and in the New is recommended under the general idea of order and decency, which should particularise, and not only point out to every passenger the established places of worship, but which should attend it in all its offices: something that is striking, majestic and august, and fills the mind with awe and veneration: *Holiness becometh thine House*: such sanctity as walls and timber are capable of, such purity and splendor as correspond with the idea of that more refined purity, which in a manner inconceivable to us is supposed to reside in it.

Here in the capital, things are tolerably well, the duties are attended at least with regularity, and though many things are wanting that should be supplied, there is nothing noisome or offensive: get out of it, and turn to what side ye will, what a different scene presents? the meanness of its appearance surprises, the slovenliness of its dress disgusts, the careless perfunctory manner in which the offices of it are all performed, shock you; if you are well affected, these things raise indignation, if ill, contempt.

† *Es. auditus.*

Take away the few remaining monuments of the piety of our early Christian ancestors, what are the evidences any where among us, by which a stranger could be induced to believe, that we had any religion; at least that any particular mode of it was established? for what ye call churches he would say, I see nothing but decayed and ruinous houses, so bad without that he would be afraid to go in: if he did, what disgust and astonishment must instantly seize him: nothing before his eyes but dirt, rubbish and disorder: shattered pews, and disjointed forms, a tattered surplice in one place thrown carelessly aside, a moth-eaten bible and prayer-book covering the curate's dirty band in another: a chancel without rails, walls without plaister, &c. would these *rare insignia* of modern piety tempt him think ye to conform? would he be in love with our manner? would he expect to be edified by coming among us? should he chance to like what he heard, I am sure he would not be charmed with what he saw: would he not be apt to tell us, that forasmuch as we railed at Popery, in one respect, it was well for us that our ancestors were Papists, for otherwise, we should hardly have had one decent or commodious place of worship among us; could a spirit of reforming have produced this?

Did he ask the reason of this slovenliness, he would I know, be answered in the common way; that the country was poor, and taxes were high, &c. are there no overseers who have the care of such things? no! formerly we had officers who were called *church-wardens* annually elected and sworn into office: the name is still in use, but the

the office is abolished, and nobody calls upon them or minds them; what are your spiritual guardians the bishops doing? don't they hold visitations? read *Tristram Shandy* he will tell you: in the 40th canon already referred to, you may read the only apology I know to be made: *what* (says the stranger) *a state without a police? and a church without discipline?* It will never do: this is not the way to grandeur, to prosper or to flourish, to enlarge your borders, or to reclaim recusants: I do not like your ways, and if there be nothing better in your religion, than what strikes my thoughts in this view, it will be some time I doubt before I shall be persuaded to join or be one of ye.

Something

* The learned and pious Dr. *Secker*, in a visit-charge, expressly authorises this remark, by saying, "that the extreme here noted, prevailing in so shameful a degree, must needs give Papists an exceeding great disgust to Protestantism, and Infidels no small contempt to Christianity, as either despising inwardly the religion they profess, or being too forlorn, to pay it the common outward marks of respect". See ch. 4. to the diocese of *Oxford*.

In some cases, I know, it is impossible for bishops to know exactly the state of the several churches in their dioceses: if they could, that slovenliness and negligence so generally obtaining, might here and there perhaps find a remedy: might it not therefore for that reason be wished that the institution of *RURAL DEANS*, in most of the large dioceses, were revived: whoever has read that excellent prelate's charge, lately reprinted here, will, I imagine, be convinced not only of the use, but the practicability of the thing; and from the whole will see, how incapable (in the present situation of things) the clergy are to practise, or in any manner to enforce many of his most friendly and very rational advices:

Something like this we may suppose would be the language and sentiments of a foreigner: under the strictest observation, what could he see among us, which bearing the marks of design, argued an inclination to convert Papists, or to reconcile gain-sayers of any class? except in the single instance of our Charter-schools, and even there an inquisitive eye would, I fear, find too much to censure and carp at.

Thirty

The editor of this little tract, charmed with the performances of the great prelate here referred to, cannot pass over this opportunity of recommending them to the perusal and attention of churchmen of all ranks and degrees.

† In the proceedings of the Charter-school society a sum of 5000^l is offered in the way of premium to every person bred in these schools, who after his, or her apprenticeship, shall marry a Protestant; and 196 such portions have been already paid, making in all a sum of 9800^l. The intention, no doubt, was pious, but I am not for all that reconciled to it: reckoning it so much money misapplied and thrown away: a pleasing form, or a convenient help mate, in people of that rank, are the usual motives, I believe, to matrimony, and that where either of these motives impel to the choice of a husband or wife of a differing religion, five pounds would not matter the impulse: persons by that time are fixed in their religion, if proper care has been taken: if they are, there is no occasion for it: if there has been any neglect or mismanagement, and they have quakings or doubts, it is but throwing a temptation to *relapse* in their way, by informing them of what till then was probably a secret, and unknown to them, that the Popish religion was that they drew their first breath in, and were baptized into: was this considered when the appointment was consented to? what a powerful prejudice is here undesignedly infused? may it not put them upon inquiring after their parents, and having found them, to what assaults will they be exposed? to every mean which

Thirty five years are now past since the institution took place : In that time 3493 children of both sexes have been apprenticed : take the thing in the most favourable light, and suppose that these are all clear gain : that not one have relapsed, nor any reprisals by conversions have been made on the other side ; the produce at an average will then be about ninety nine and a half, or near one hundred, annually reclaimed : this in a century will give an increase to the Protestant side of 10,000, and these doubling according to Sir W—. P—'s calculations in 360 years, in a tract rather less than what hath already elapsed since the commencement of the *English* government, would give us, we will say, Protestants enough to stock the whole island, and then the *Irish*, if they chuse it, might decamp, and look out for better quarters : in all this time however, *Irish* Papists, to the full as prolific as *English* Protestants, would be doubling on in equal paces : the consequence of which would be superfætation, more upon the whole than we should want, and yet the increase on the Protestant side never so great as to put them on a par, or make them matches.

If the zeal or success of the Popish clergy in proselyting, be as great as some are pleased to represent, we are after all our care and pains in our Charter-schools, annually rather losing than gaining ground* : I don't however give much credit to

which may be laudably used to forward the end of this pious institution, I am a friend, but freely declare my opinion, that this is neither laudable nor prudent.

* The reader for satisfaction in this, is refer'd to the Postscript.

these

these accounts, they are designedly exaggerated, to make this hideous bugbear more frightful than it is; where I live, I can see very little of that industry going forward: if any Jesuits or foreign Missionaries have lately come among us, they are so concealed as not to be observed, and their parish priests instead of labouring to make converts, have as much as they can do to keep their own flocks from straggling and breaking out of the inclosure: *by marriage*, is the only mean, they have of gaining upon us: in that way I am in danger of losing two or three, but they are such as at best, were but a sort of mongrel breed, who by the misfortune of Popish mothers had the seeds of it nibbled into them, and their affections turned that way, before they were capable of learning, what either of hurt, or good, was in it.

If people will consider what in three of our provinces the real state of the country is, instead of being surpris'd that some are lost in this way, they will rather wonder that they are so few: Protestant youth, male or female, must marry, no one will be foolish enough to advise against it: but where shall they get husbands, or wives: at church if they look for them, they are not to be met with: at the common marts, a patron or fair, they have but one choice, a Papist, or none: in what way shall the evil of this inconvenience be avoided? *The author of the considerations* hints at some remedy, but has not told us what it is: I doubt it is one of those matters that must be left to nature and custom, which the only promising method, that occurs to me would not break in upon: it is couched in a proposition of Sir *W—*. *P—*. for a more equal mixture of the several species

cies of the king's subjects in the several provinces §.

Let us consider it for a moment in the author's own words : enumerating the impediments to *England's* greatness, the third, says he, is, that *Ireland* being a conquered country, and containing not

§ When there may be wisdom enough or virtue among us, to contrive and carry into execution a scheme of this kind : when faction, luxury, selfishness, &c. will make room for the display of the little we have, *divum promittere nemo auderet*, till it do come, perhaps it had been better if our schools had been all confined to three provinces : in the *North* there was no occasion for them : there the Papists are already out-numbered, and so scattered and mixed that the thing will work of itself without policy or art : in every part of the world, the stronger sect in peaceful times, if the weaker are to be tolerated, will always carry it away from the rest, especially when the *leaves and fibres* of the state, accord and go along to invite and allure.

In looking over the list, I find ten or eleven of these schools in *Ulster*, and am fain to recommend to the consideration of the governors, whether if those schools had been erected in *Connaught* and *Munster*, the event, by this time, might not have been, that our congregations would have increased, and theirs would have lessened, (which yet they are not) and the complaints against the clergy for doing nothing had less ground, or may be, not heard of at all. Might not this mistake be still rectified, by converting those schools into nurseries, and in lieu of them raising schools elsewhere ?

Let it be considered again, whether it would not be better if in those schools, none but Boys were admitted : if the view were only to provide husbands for so many Protestant Girls, who, from that motive alone, are often seduced and perverted.

Lastly

not the tenth part as many native *Irish*, as there are *English* in both kingdoms; that natural and firm

Lastly, Why, in the name of God, if we are in earnest to propagate this scheme, do we squeamishly reject the obvious easy means of keeping those schools constantly full, though they were double in number of what they are? Parents are, I know, with difficulty, persuaded to part with their children, be they ever so poor: they are not able to feed or to clothe them, yet so strong are their prejudices, rather than give them to our care, they will go round the kingdom to beg with them: whilst a man keeps house, and by his labor or means, maintains his family, independently of other folks charity, his right to dispose of them to his own liking, cannot be disputed; but the moment he goes a begging, thus nursing and training them to sloth and idleness, they become the children of the public: and the public hath a right to them: why then, I ask, are not magistrates, church-wardens, constables, &c. empowered and enjoined, strictly, under severe penalties, to take up all such strolling children, and send them to these schools and nurseries? if by this mean, we did not fill them, we should get rid of such pests; the parents, knowing what was to follow, if they did not chuse to part with their children, would contrive a home for them, and keep them there: and in either way, the scheme of a R. D. lately proposed to the public, would be obviated and avoided: it would then, whatever may be said in behalf of it now, be supererogatory and useless: as it is, it will be time enough to give it attention, when the projector hath shewn what good it hath done in the country he came from.

But in this free state, shall we break in upon the rights of nature, and treat those as slaves who were born free? senseless stuff! without sound of reason, or fit to be reasoned upon: *salus populi suprema lex*, is for ever in our mouths, without knowing how to apply it: every man in society compounds for the preservation of some privileges by the renunciation of others: what is a burthen or nuisance, every state hath a right to throw off: if men cannot or will not bear their own burthens, and I must do it for them, I will do it in the way that will be lightest and most convenient for myself: the parents

firm union is not made between them, by transplantations and proportionable mixtures, so as there

rents as well as the children, by throwing themselves thus upon the public, give the public a right to dispose of them.

For the advantage of throwing my thoughts upon this subject into one view, let me go on to observe, that at present the principal view to which children in these schools are educated, is to make servants and manufacturers: in which there is nothing to quarrel with, but that it is too confined: why might it not be enlarged? are we not a maritime and trading nation? doth not our strength, our reputation, our safety and glory, all center and rest in our navy? what scarcity of sailors as often as there is a call? what difficulty in manning our fleets, under the advantage, even, of the greatest violation of liberty ever practised? how many fair enterprises have miscarried and been lost? how many postponed till the occasion was over, from want of hands to navigate and work our ships? what a fund might be here raised? might it not be contrived that these schools should annually supply the fleet with some hundreds of able mariners? in time of peace is there no occasion for them, there is trade enough of various kinds to employ them, and masters to whom they might be apprenticed, where they would be out of the way of future seduction? why might not schools be erected in every sea-port town, where every boy, from six to fourteen years of age, might find employment in their first stages, in picking, dressing and twisting hemp, for cordage and sails, &c. As they advance in size and strength, in fishing, &c. in tempestuous weather, at proper intervals, under proper masters, to learn the common rules in the art of navigation: do the academies in *England*, maintained at a great expence to the nation, turn to half the account, or answer the design of the institution, with equal advantage to the public, as these little seminaries might? I may be told that a seminary of the kind is already on foot: I know it, and consider it with pleasure: but can a thing of that kind ever grow to the size and extent it ought, under the help of private subscriptions and a charity sermon? would it not be better to incorporate, and throw the funds into one?

there may be but a tenth part of the *Irish* in *Ireland*, and the same proportion in *England*, when
by

One of the greatest difficulties in the way of the managers, I am sensible, is in providing proper masters for them: men who have been ill taught themselves will always be badly qualified to teach others: the generality of those who offer or come in the way, I fear are such. I doubt too it is hard to get better; but might not the evil of even this, be in a great degree remedied, by raising the salary, and making it an object worthy of the attention of the curate of the parish? is the office too servile and low for them? perhaps they may not think so: how many of them, despairing of rising in the church, (as mostly they have reason, be their labors and abilities what they will) do we see daily taking to this course, to increase their stipend, and enable them to maintain a family? If they will undertake it, surely they are the fittest: an additional salary of forty pounds, with a commodious house, would be an enticing inducement: and now that the fashion begins to take, *of ordaining, without testimonials, men who were never at a college*, the bait probably would take: to such a curacy and a school, would be real preferment: the reason of the proposition will be strengthened, by considering that this laudable fashion must go on, except the foreigners who come here for our benefices shall bring their own curates along with them: the expence of education here being grown so exorbitant, that men cannot nor do not breed their children in the view of being only curates for life: the charge is much too great for the returns it brings in.

If it is asked, out of what fund these additional salaries are to be raised: my answer is ready, there is one at hand, without any new tax, or giving any one a right or reason to grumble: I shall think myself obliged to any of my brethren, who will inform me of what use, either to the public, or the persons who pay the tax, *DIOCESAN SCHOOLS* are now, or ever have been? If this is not to be done, then whoever is able to compute the ordinary amount of this tax upon the clergy, will see that no more is necessary to provide for the article recommended, than to repeal the 12 of *Eliz.* ch. 1, and after the repealing clause to insert one enacting, that all sums hereafter
levied

by the necessity, &c. Pol. Arith. p. 166. ed. 4. Lond. I am at present no farther concerned with this scheme, than as it offers a hint for the advancement of my own: for rendering the *Irish* better subjects and better christians, by depriving them first of the power and afterwards of the inclination to do mischief; had the men who made so many laws to prevent the further growth of popery, taken this matter by the right end, they might have gone a much shorter way to work, and saved themselves the disgrace of being so shamefully foiled.

By the fashion of the last century there is reason to think, that our senatorial predecessors imagined, that laws had a certain plastic power, not only of generating and forming, but also of creating: that when they had decreed that a thing should be, and described how they would have it to be, that so it would be, and instantaneously start up in the form they would have it: their sons and successors see, I doubt not, how idly they were employed, and will, we hope, be wise enough to leave nature to work in her own way, without straining and twisting its powers so preposterously for the time to come: *nec natura, nec lex operantur per saltum*—and it is, says Montesquieu, always bad policy to attempt to change by laws, what ought to be changed by custom*. Were Zaleucus, Solon,

levied of the clergy in this way, shall be appropriated and paid to the treasurer of the Charter-school society, for forwarding the ends of that institution, in such manner as to, &c.

* Sir W. P. Pol. Arith. p. 96, says the same, too many matters have been regulated by laws, which nature, long custom, and general consent ought to have governed.

Lycurgus,

Lycurgus, Numa, &c. all the great lawgivers of the world, antient and modern, assembled in one *juncto*, they would not be able to contrive a law that would change a million of *Irishmen* into a million of *Englismen*: it would be a task too great even for the omnipotence of *Br——sb C——m——ns*: and yet this strange metamorphosis, as strange as any in *OVID*, may be made, if men will set about it in the proper way: it must be made, before they will be reclaimed, and become Protestants.

The more communicative, says the forenamed author, people are, the more easily they change their manners: A FORTIORI then say I, the more they communicate, the sooner this will happen: and how shall we bring them to this, but by mixing and jumbling them together? In the condition things were when Sir *W——. P——.* wrote he saw, indeed there was, no other mean of doing this, but by transplantations from one kingdom to another: but had they been in the condition we see them now, he had undoubtedly contented himself with advising only such intermixtures as might be made from province to province: and every body who is acquainted with the true state of the kingdom knows that it might be done, and that the establishment would be more secure if it was done: let our affection for the Protestant Faith be ever so reasonable and just, whoever considers the matter in a political view only, will be inclined to think that as in the Southern provinces there are too many Papists, so in the Northern there are too few, and that if they were transplanted from one to the other, and proportionately mixed, neither would be dangerous; awing, bridling,

ling, and controlling one another, government would have nothing to do but to hold the ballance; and then the business of profelyting would go on of itself. Parsons would have much more of that to do which they can do, and much less of that, which they cannot do.

If the reader hath any doubts about the matter, let him let his reason to work, and invent another way if he can — By being thus mixed they would insensibly communicate their qualities, incorporate, grow into resemblance, so as hardly, in time, to be distinguished *: much in the same way as it falls out, and is observed in the vegetable system: where we see that by setting out promiscuously heterogeneous plants in the same plot, the *pistil* of one is impregnated by the *farina fecundans* of another, and the gardiner notwithstanding his care in gathering, sorting and preserving his seeds to keep them distinct, finds in the following season, that he has got plants so different from what he had sown that when they come up, he hardly knows them, the leaves, flowers and fruits are all so diversified.

Nothing is more simple, easy and natural than the progression once it is begun, the advances generally indeed imperceptible, but for that reason, always more certain; by the constant succession of new objects, raising new desires, and giving the affections new and different determinations — By extending men's views, enlarging their notions, crouding the mind with new ideas — By forming

* See this reasoning illustrated and confirmed by a late excellent historian: reign of *Charles V.* book 12.

new interests and new connexions — By introducing new forms in business, new modes in diversion, so creating new sentiments and new taste — By constant employment, and better wages in a greater variety of arts and manufactures — By plenty — By cleanliness — By early training in a different course : and all this so quickly, and so perceivably, even from this slight sketched view, that the man who apprehends it not, and how the operation would be carried on, is to me an object of commiseration, as blind, insensible and ignorant as the meanest of those whom we want to reform.

But may not all this happen, and religious opinions and prejudices stand on as they were? no : opinions depend upon customs : all prejudices grow out of them : and customs changed, exploded, forgotten or lost, carry opinions along with them : introduce new customs, new manners and habits of living, and let men be ever so much on their guard, ye will in spite of them introduce new opinions and modes of thinking, in philosophy, in theology, in politics, in every thing, *the arts of civil life, says an ingenious modern †, introduce new words and new manners along with a new form of ideas.*

Whilst parties and denominations of men herd together, they are always riveting and strengthening their own prejudices : those prejudices out of which grow the envy and hatred of one to the other : but when multitudes of differing senti-

† Dr. Macpherson, crit. differ. d. 12.

ments and manners pour in, and mix and jumble in one common mass; those prejudices having neither time, occasion, nor opportunity of operating, become every day fainter and weaker, till at last both the sight and remembrance of them is lost: and all this without study, without intending it, without precept or advice, merely by observation and imitation, the true real schoolmasters of nature, that which fizes, and fixeth the demensions of all human capacities, and gives them all the differing turns which characterise and distinguish nation from nation, and people from people.

Never was there a more impolitic blunder attempted, or committed, than by that enterprising successful enthusiast O——r C——ll. He knew how to rule a state, *i. e.* how to awe and enforce obedience; but no more how to model one, than *praise God bare bones*, or one of his drummers: if he had, he had never contrived that absurd and barbarous scheme of shutting up and confining all the native *Irish* in one corner of *Conaught*, as a mean to keep them from being dangerous to the *English* government.

Had it taken effect in the way he intended, what would have been the consequence as far as relates to the argument I am upon? this certainly, that the reformation of these *Irish*, either in manners or religion, would for ever have been impossible. Like the *Moors* in *Spain*, they would, they must for ever have remained a distinct and separate people: instead of learning from us, as evidently they have, and studying to be like us; they would have set up for independency, in time contending for superiority, and in the intermediate

waste countries, as they would have served them for a barrier, had continually been struggling to extend their lines : like *Scythians* and *Tartars* sending out of their hords new hives, swarming and over-running the cultivated plains, by every incursion returning loaded with booty, and making new settlements.

If the policy of *Philip III.* in regard to the *Moriscoes* was foolish and wicked, in what respect was *Cromwell's* better, or had in it more of religion, humanity or good sense ? the two instances viewed and compared prove, what false judgments men are wont, mutually, to make of one another, ascribing that often to principle which is merely and only the effect of temper, and again, that to temper which sometimes is the result of principle : from the anecdotes of *Philip's* reign, we are now warranted in saying, that the sin of his conduct was the effect of principle instilled by wicked priests : from those of *Cromwell's*, that it was the effect of a ferocious and savage nature, furiously agitated by the ruling passion, and wrought up to a determined purpose of destroying every thing that stood in the way of that elevation, to which he had been precipitately ascending : without knowing where he was going *

When

* Nothing is a juster subject of disgust, than to hear men in their carousals, who pretend to be friends of liberty descanting in praise of this imperious tyrant : what a wretched picture did he exhibit of himself in his last moments : consulting one of the canting senseless divines of the age about the state of his soul, and his chance for salvation : he asked could a man

who

When the *Normans* conquered *England*, and the *English* conquered *Ireland*, in the view before us, what was the consequence? the conquerors in both instances adopted most of the customs of the conquered, and in time became the same people: how could it have been otherwise? considering the parcels in which they came, and the necessity they were under of mixing, intermarrying and communicating in so many different ways? the descendants of *Strongbow's* adventurers, and others at different periods afterwards, though they did not dilate or spread far, but kept within the little circle called the *PALE*, were at the time of the rebellion in 1641, as thorough-paced, staunch, good *Irish* men, as those who pretended to be of the first *Milesian* race. The same reasons and causes continue to operate still: the *English* annually imported very awkwardly, at coming, give into our ways, or accommodate themselves to our modes, though they are rarely more than a season before us in the imitations of *France*: they dislike our customs, and with rudeness laugh at our ways, talk slightly, treat us disdainfully and wish to go back; yet in a succession or two at most, their descendants are perfectly naturalised, call this

who was once in a state of grace fall from it; and was answered *no*. Then, says he, I am safe; *for once, I am sure, I was in a state of grace: i. e.* before his barbarity, regicide, tyranny, &c. In the various and odious superstitions of Popery, is there any thing more irrational, puerile or ridiculous? could such a wretch give stability to power, was he fit to rule a great state? some men it is true got estates by him, but they owe the enjoyment of them to different maxims, than those he governed by.

poor,

poor, fenny, foggy island their *natale solum*, become as wedded to its interests, as uneasy under foreign restraints, &c.

Of all this the reason in both cases is the same : though the conquerors came with power and force sufficient to give law : for he that can *proscribe*, will always be able to *prescribe* ; the numbers however were incompetent to change customs, and therefore, to preserve their conquests, were under the necessity of adopting the customs of the conquered : *England*, by her vicinity and some other advantages have, it is true, been able to maintain their conquest without doing this entirely, and by the annual importation, gradually multiplying the numbers, seem to imagine that in time they will be able to conquer this law of nature. But the experience of five or six centuries may instruct them that in the way they have proceeded, five or six more may be necessary to complete the design. The importations besides the paucity of them are not of the classes we want : the people they send come only for benefices and employments, and these by acquiring wealth and property disappoint their views, by becoming in a little time, as I said before, as rank *Irishmen* as any in the land : in so much, that it is more than problematical, whether the remnant of old NOL's adventures, (the most cordial haters of the native *Irish* who came here at a time when the project of a UNION, *an intire incorporating Union*, was set on foot and had nigh succeeded, and at that time would have heartily joined in it,) would not be now among the most active and forward in opposing it : disfranchised as it were and deprived of the privileges of *Englisbmen*, they have lifted under a different banner, and have
forgot

forgot the relation, and yet still foolishly imagine that the independency which their forefathers enjoyed there should have followed, and been intailed on them here.

If these things be so, what is the reason that the *Scotch* in *Ulster* have, for more than a century, been able to preserve themselves distinct and separate without innovating in their customs, or changing in any notable degree the manners and opinions they brought with them? is not this an instance in point, that proves I am mistaken? — no: — It was their being able to herd together by themselves which enabled them to maintain their prejudices, to retain and propagate their manners, insomuch that it is but the other day they have got a little polish, and thrown off the rudeness of their native air: they came in such numbers as to be able to drive the native *Irish* from their settlements, and oblige them to remove to quarters, where an intervening power, the lashes of whose rod were still sinaring on the backs of the fugitive *Irish*, prevented their return to displace them; and the *English* settlements in those parts being then few and inconsiderable, they had no rivals, nor any from whom they could learn and improve: seeing every day the same faces, and hearing only the same voices, there was no avenue to greater light or more knowledge, to variety in sentiment or refinement in taste: without this, how could different manners grow upon them? had equal or greater numbers of *English* mixed among them, they would soon have adopted new modes, and been looking back now with the same indifference, if not contempt, at those they brought with them, as they do to the country they brought them from:

similar

similar instances are every day before our eyes : what is deemed most respectable, and valued by one generation we see despised in the next, in the same manner as we often see a *well bred son* wondering and laughing at the rude unpolished manners of his father, and his bigotry in adhering to the antiquated modes, and exploded system of the age he was bred in.

But what of all this? these northern *Scotchmen*, though they have changed their manners, they still hold to their religion : totally averse, in no degree reconciled to the established form ; is this true ? it is a case of importance in general, and of moment in the argument, and I may give the reader my thoughts upon it, even if it should happen that I may be mistaken : that they have their separate congregations, and are still *Dissenters*, I own, is true : but however they may take it, or think of me for saying so, I insist they are not *Presbyterians* ; the *Calvinistical* scheme is still to be read and seen in their directory and confessions, but not in their *creeds* or sermons : they have little of the old leaven among them — The things they stood upon formerly, are not the things which stick with them now — Few of them make any scruple of conforming when there is any thing to be got by it, and when men have come so far of themselves, a little matter would persuade them to come all the way, in which case want of condescension, on one side, may be as inconsistent with the true spirit of Christianity, as obstinacy on the other — The reason of their obstinacy I cannot form a judgment of, nor of what they propose by it ; I doubt whether the ingenuous among themselves can tell — The establishment of their own religion, in
the

the form it hath any where been seen, cannot be the scheme — Were they in a condition to overturn the old, and lay new foundations, what they would build and lay upon it, would, I am persuaded, be in a different taste, as different as the architecture now in mode, is from any of the old *Gothic* fabrics yet remaining, and the bulk of them would, I am persuaded, sooner chuse *Ben. H--d- y* or *Sam. C--ke* for apostles than either *Calvin* or *Knox*. If I might be indulged in forming a conjecture, I should incline to think that some the most sensible of them, are in opinion, that by continuing the separation, some advantage accrues to the general system or common cause of *Protestantism*, in the opportunities of countermining Popery, and are afraid that *UNIFORMITY*, under the hierarchical form of the *Church of England*, would in time lead to, and end in a species of Popery.

None of them, I trust, will suspect me of designing any new controversy about the things in dispute between us ; I despise the controversy in all its parts, and look back with indignant leer at the men by whom it was so long bandied. But reasoning with freedom upon what I have hinted in apology for them, I will beg leave to put them in mind that a different conclusion, I think, should force itself upon them — That their separation hath been, for more than a century, one of the chief impediments and strongest obstacles in the way, to the reconciling and reclaiming of Papists — Had they come in and joined us at a time, when there was so little to divide us, that it was a shame for either to stand out, the ways, and the opportunities of gaining upon the other had certainly multiplied and been more energetic —
Those

Those ways at least I may say, which I have been describing and recommending: and it behoves them yet to consider, what advantage Papists have and do still make of our divisions — Some of them, I know, object strongly to our creeds, and some particulars in our liturgy. But if in one case they are obliged to make use of NAAMAN's saving and apology, *in this thing Lord pardon thy servant*, why might it not do as well in the other? — Would not a modern prophet, as well as ELISHA of old, *bid them go in peace* * ?

Be these things as they may, which we submit to their own cool and dispassionate consideration, I go on to observe that had we gained upon the whole as far upon Papists, our fears and our jealousies, much greater (even as things are) than they need to be, would vanish and cease to torment us. What hath happened in one case shews to demonstration what is possible, and in reason may be expected in the other: *they adhere*, says the author of the considerations, *without any modification to the religious and political system of their forefathers*: and pray which of us do not? don't all our systems stand on just as they were handed down to us by our forefathers, without any material alteration? — Why then should that be charged as a fault only to them, and a just exception against any favour or indulgence? — If sects in religion, or factions in the state, are never to be

* Mr. Hutchinson in his construction of this text makes the prophet's answer to refer only to past acts, not to authorize future ones upon the Syrians return: but if so the whole passage is very badly translated, and he has not corrected that.

tolerated, or received into grace, till they have all openly recanted and abjured, the distinguishing errors, with which they first set out, I know of none that have any claim, or can give in a title: but if it be reasonable to suppose that the opinions, ways and manners of the leaders, or greater part of a sect may alter without this, and may be essentially different now from what they were half a century ago: if it shall appear that they have not the same antipathies, and that their prejudices are abated both in number and vigor, that the fire of them is cooled, and the edge of them blunted, as in truth, charity will oblige us to hope, and many indicative symptoms to believe; the inference will be strongly against the author and all who argue with him, that they ought not to be kept within the same restraints, that some of the old inclosures may be pulled down, and new lines of duty marked out for them: let us try then for once how far gentleness and indulgence will work upon them, and as a motive to it, let us ask ourselves, what would be our judgment upon the case, if they were in our circumstances and we in theirs — The qualities of men's nature are the same in all countries: what would be unjust, cruel, and ill natured in *France* or *Italy*, is equally so in *Britain* or *Ireland*: be the fault where it will, whether in the laws, or in those who are intrusted with the execution of them.

A writer already referred to (whose extensive knowledge and more comprehensive understanding are particularly recommended to me, even by his foretelling, near a century ago, the present disturbance from our colonies in *America*, by considering the bad constitution they were put under, in
a form

a form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, so different from our own) after recapitulating the impediments to *England's* greatness, and prescribing the remedies, sums up the argument thus: *I humbly venture to say, that these things may be done, if it be so thought fit by the sovereign power, because the like hath often been done already at several places and times* †.

At the time he wrote, undoubtedly the thing could have been done:—but I doubt the season is past, and the circumstances of men and things so much altered that now it could not be done: I mean by government, or by laws: the difference in the manners and sentiments of people have thrown various impediments in the way which he never dreamed of, or came into his head — There were indeed factions, competitions for power and place then as well as now, but still the actors were sober and in their senses, had determined ends and views; knew that there was a public to be served, had an eye to it and thought of it — Now all is wrapt up in selfishness and private interest, and it is only from pique or disappointment that men ever speak of a public — When the author wrote, there was both the name and power of a king among us, his person was respected, and his word had authority — now — he is neither honoured or feared — The most profligate of his subjects dare to withstand him — The meanest of them dare to insult him — The king had then some prerogative left, (the revolution neither did nor was intended to weaken it,) he held the

† Polit. arith.

balance in the state, and when measures were disputable, could turn it to the side he inclined, if right — Now, be the measures ever so wise, prudent or expedient, they are sure to be damned (merely sometimes for being his,) and two or three popular demagogues can do more than the three estates in conjunction — Then religion was respected, and the teachers of it were heard and attended to; now — these are utterly disregarded, and the other obsolete and out of fashion: at present, the availing means are but two, *adulation* and *bribery*, and it is a doubt whether even a divine messenger, such as *Moses*, thundering from *SINAI* would be heard, unless after *sprinkling ashes in the air, it returned in GOLD instead of DUST.*

Such transplantations, therefore, as the knight advised, seem at present not to be feasible: for even if government were in its due and regular course, as God knows it is not, and with very little prospect of returning to it soon: the enmity and aversion of the Sectarians, one against another, is much the same as it formerly was: Protestants in the North, though crowding and elbowing one another instead of inclining, though often invited to move upwards to the southern provinces, where they would find not only more room but more advantages in manufacturing and trading, than they enjoy where they are, seem better disposed to cross the ocean to *America*: and the natives in the South, shew as little disposition to welcome or give them friendly entertainment if they did. Though nothing at the same time can be plainer, than that one hundred thousand of those, transplanted and intermixed with these, would be an effectual,

tual, and perhaps the only sure mean to make them both useful and safe; dispersed and jumbled in the manner I speak of, they would reciprocally awe and bridle one another, government would always have an easy and safe game to play with both; in their present situation, they are under a necessity of treating both with a respect that neither have deserved; and as long as they continue so, will have difficulty to manage or serve their purposes with either.

But perhaps there may be a mean still in reserve, by which this most important political end may be forwarded, and the apprehended evils of our present very alarming situation find a remedy, and give us at least that security which we want and are looking for.

What is that? It lies before me in a little treatise, intituled, *The present state of the nation*. I chuse to give it in the words of the author,* and then to descant a little upon it.

“ *Ireland* has too long been considered as only
“ a colony to *Great-Britain*, and by throwing it
“ into that scale, the weight of the members has

* I make no inquiry nor indeed any account, who is the author of this pamphlet, nor have I any thing to do with the main subject of it: far from being a competent judge of its merits, I leave it to those more adept to whose department it properly belongs: I only seize the hint it offers to illustrate and confirm, what I am urging in regard to the internal state of this country, in spite of ill turned politics, and the narrow, selfish views of the men deputed to watch over us, risen to be the object of envy, and growing to be the source of danger, if not better looked to.

“ been

“ been found too great for the head : the com-
 “ mon interest of all the parts of the empire re-
 “ quires that the balance should be preserved, and
 “ no measure can tend so immediately to that
 “ end as incorporating *Ireland* with *Great-Bri-*
 “ *tain* : I mean not an entire and compleat union
 “ of the two kingdoms, but a community of in-
 “ terest, especially a common privilege of trading
 “ to and with the colonies.” I need not go on
 transcribing what is in every bodies hands.

Very well! this, I shall be told, may be a salu-
 tary scheme, to be reasoned upon at leisure, and
 proved at last by experience: but what hath this
 to do with the conversion of Papists? The man
 who asks this must have forgot what he has already
 read; for nothing can be more obvious than
 the connexion, and its immediate influence upon
 their manners and customs: by a more frequent
 intercourse and familiar communication with men
 of dissonant manners and opinions: shoals of which
 we are easily to imagine will forthwith pour in
 upon us, for the advantage of manufacturing and
 trading more commodiously, than they are capa-
 ble of doing, either in the inland parts, or even in
 the sea-parts of *England*. They will probably
 come in such crouds, as to form extensive towns
 and villages, in those wastes where the vestiges of
 human feet are rarely now to be traced: and
 could we once see three or four such towns, at
 proper distances, in the provinces of *Conaught*, &c.
 inhabited mostly by *English* Protestants, &c. I
 should think the work in such forwardness, as by
 a little time and care to be easily completed.

only ed all them whom what a quick mind he be who
 all to rise up and to be a part of it. Do

Do any objections lie to this scheme? none in my account: but let us consider in a cursory way, what have been, or may be brought.

Sir *Francis Brewster*, writing anno 1702, tells you that he never heard of more than two: first, that it would endanger the constitution of *England*: and second, that give *Ireland* an equal trade, and the trade of *England* would be at an end.

If either of these should happen to be mentioned now, it is from the other side of the water they will come: and the first is voided by the form and tendency of the proposition, as it aims not an entire, but only a partial union, which is all that I imagine would go down at present with the bulk of people on this side, and may therefore be passed over without compliment to the wisdom of either.

Should they be so weak as to stand upon the second, the case will be as easily argued, even if all that the objection supposes were to happen, as it cannot: men's fears stand often with them for arguments; though in all cases fear is the betraying of the succours which reason offers: if the body is fed, the vital parts constantly recruited with fresh supplies of wholesome juices, of what consequence is it, through what pipes and channels they are conveyed, from what limb or organ they are derived? By lopping off the limb through which they are conveyed, should a mortal *Atrophy* ensue, what a quack must he be who would advise it? is *England* to lose any part of its trade;

trade; which is best for her, that the *Irish* should get it or the *French*? would they prefer an old perfidious enemy, the most dangerous rival they have, to their own offspring and progeny?—By the same rule that they would stop the woollen trade from coming to *Ireland*, they might argue for confining it to some particular county, or town of *England*. Why at the union with *Scotland*, did they not bar the manufacture of *plaids*, *bonnets*, and *hose*? was *Ireland* a part of the continent of *Britain*, she would have the same title as *Scotland* or *Wales*, to a free trade, and because her situation, separated by a wide and deep channel, renders her of much greater use and utility, must she therefore be excluded? were she a part of the continent, every man who has sense enough to reckon how many fingers he has, or to compute the length of his own foot, must see that her use and convenience would be less, and a great part of it absolutely lost:—long land carriages would render all her commodities dearer for exportation: and there would be little employment for seamen, an article in which neither can ever exceed, or indeed abound in the degree, their wants demand:—how often have these proud misjudging people been told, that of whatever is gained here, two-thirds, at least, must go back to themselves? what made *Rome* (says Dr. *Davenant*) so immensely rich? not their employment in arts, handicrafts, &c. They never minded them: but being the head of a large dominion, the fountain of law, the source from whence all power, magistracies, and honours were derived, thither all men resorted, some for business, some for pleasure: and all that was got by the trading cities of *Asia* and *Greece* centered there:—would not the case be the

same of *London*, especially as it is not only the seat of dominion, but a great *emporium*, the head not only of power but of traffic, governing all its branches, and giving the rules and the price.

Under this slight animadversion passing over these, we come to a third, that may be urged on both sides: "From every innovation, be the system innovated ever so bad, disagreeable and uneasy consequences are always to be apprehended: a thing of this kind we are not therefore to suppose can go on smoothly without opposition; and such opposition begun in a state so prone and inclining to anarchy, as ours may have fatal consequences: immediate evil in the scale of judgment should preponderate against remote ulterior good."

Give it all its force, what I pray you doth it prove? this and this only; *that the exact period of society, ripe for the innovation, should always be watched.** Be it so, for undoubtedly it should be so: but then I contend that the exact period is come: the minds, the tempers, the inclinations of men who are to take the lead, have every where got the proper and necessary turn: the mist of prejudices which lay in the way is dispersed: many thirst and pant for it with impatience: and shall we be frightened from going into it, because two or three whose parts are fitted only for vice, and have talents only for mischief, who think they shine when they figure in any way, and have no other challenge to attention, but that they can make a noise: or may be able to gather a mob,

* See *Ferguson's* essay.

who should follow it to the lobby of a H— of C—, and there clamour against it: we cannot surely, be so senseless as to mind what such wretches say? — From the restoration down to this day, every writer on the subject of trade, politicks, or œconomy, *Child, Petty, Davenant, Molineux, Brewster, Trenchard, Decker, Postlethwaite*, all of them eminent and respectable in their way, have declared and argued for it; (three them, *viz.* P—y, M——x, and Tr——rd, for an entire incorporating union, what is not at present before us) and every man hath this quickening motive, even those whom nothing but danger and distress can awaken, that if the season is passed over, it may be for ever lost, or be very long before it reverts.

In the interim, from the jarring interests in the powers of *Europe*, should a fresh war break out, who can promise that it ever may? who can fix the time when it may be again in our power? though no conspiracy of causes may be apprehended, strong enough to dismember and tear this island from its connexion with *Britain*, the preservation of it in its feeble divided state, may be very troublesome and costly, in so many ways cramping the powers, and impeding the exertion of the other: — be the trouble and cost what it will, if ever the occasion occurs it must be submitted to, without us her own safety will ever be precarious, and her figure inconsiderable among the powers of *Europe*, and the joint state of both, under the most vigorous efforts sickly, languishing and pining, growing daily from bad to worse, soon to be irremediable.

An ingenious modern hath observed, * *that the provinces of absolute monarchies are always better treated than those of free states*, and after reasoning upon the state of the *Roman* provinces in the period of the *Common-wealth*, to confirm his observation, gives the instances of *Corfica* and *Ireland*, compared with the *Pais conquis* of *France*. We feel in various ways, too sensibly, what he says to be true; and there are I doubt, among us, men who look fondly to the example now exhibited by these *Corficans*. In so nice a question I pretend not to decide; the event only can tell whether they are playing a wise or a foolish game: but however this may be, from the example may be read, a very instructive and useful lesson: that it is time for our imperious task-masters, to throw off part of that republican spirit, that hath so long distracted and infatuated their councils, that spirit that is for ever clamouring upon the topic of liberty, and can never endure the thing in any but themselves; that spirit, which vainly arrogating the privilege of saying and doing every thing that their own intoxicated brains suggest, will admit of no contradiction, nor even bear the remonstrances of those they oppress: I would remind them of what an author already quoted observes. * *That whilst Ireland is above water, England can never be safe, unless she is in her hands: well treated, it will always be a citadel of defence against foreigners, and a treasure inexhaustible; and again, that as long as any sense remains of our being under the restraints of despotic power, England's danger can never be lessened or removed.* The condition of the neighbouring pow-

* Mr. Hume.

ers is perhaps such as to raise no uneasiness upon this account, it may however, as it hath been heretofore, be often in their power to incommode and annoy us: past designs may be more successfully pursued at future opportunities: we are still a divided people, divided both in our interests and affections.

Were there a neighbouring power able to seize, and getting possession of this island, able to maintain it, our pretensions to greater privileges would doubtless be better heard; oftner attended to and considered: but though this is not the case, a case not impossible may be supposed, in which the argument will lose nothing of its weight: suppose the period which is to put an end to the *British* constitution, were now hastening upon us: (and from our intestine broils, &c. we may unhappily presage that it is too near) in popular government, or absolute monarchy it must end; and if the scale should incline to the latter, as in all likelihood it will, whenever the contest arises, what additional weight must it receive from the power and strength of *Ireland*, according and going with it: manifestly it will be our interest, because (as hath been observed) from that side we shall get better terms, and be sure of being better treated: if we are to be servants, they who promise to be the mildest and most generous masters ought to be preferred: the condition of the island is, in truth, such as would force us to it: but by the proposed union, our state would soon be so much altered, that we should neither have it in our power, nor our inclinations to be any way ministerial to the purpose: except therefore the people of *England* be disposed to change liberty for slavery, they will
form

form this barrier against it. Consider us no longer as a colony, not as a branch lopt off and removed to a distance, to be watered only at hours of leisure, oftner neglected and fed only with such of-fals as superfætation and redundance may throw off; but as a part of themselves, deriving from one root, to be nourished and replenished with the same juices equally distributed.

In short as oft as I revolve these things in my thoughts, that every writer who hath ever treated of the subject hath considered it as an essential, and proceeded upon it as a first principle, when I consider how few real difficulties are in the way, and how easily they may all be answered and surmounted; why it hath been so long procrastinated, is a mystery to me quite incomprehensible: that the project, or any attempt towards it was never essayed, but under the despotic sway of a bold usurper, argues that our predecessors have been strangely supine, or more strangely perverse; to be accounted for in no way that I can think of but this: "That as all the great mutations and memorable
" revolutions in the systems of mankind have arisen from lucky incidents, seldom foreseen or
" thought of, till they became unavoidable:
" it looks as if confusion were necessary to beget
" order, and that good can arise only out of evil:
" that there are cases wherein men must be out of
" their wits before they can be in their senses,
" and that he who can knock out their brains, is
" likeliest to put sense into them."

By looking back to the æras in history, the opportunities for accomplishing this desirable event, have not, we confess been many: in the earlier periods

periods the systems pursued are but imperfectly guessed at: after the final reduction of the *Irish*, under *Tir-owen*, had *Elizabeth* lived some years, as her designs were elevated and noble, and she had both capacity and firmness, it would probably have succeeded: at the instant it became possible, she was taken away.

Her successor, though he had an eye to us, had not a capacity for such a design: the paltry disputes in the synod of *Dort* were more suited to his genius, whence the union, even of his native country, was reserved to raise the glory of his great-grand-daughter's reign.

His son if he had the capacity, had by his own, and his father's mismanagement, laid a foundation for such embarrass and perplexity, as was enough to render the attempt impracticable in his time.

After the restoration, though so long a calm succeeded, the tempers of either nation had no tendency to a coalition: the ulcerating sores of the former reign were at best but skinned over: and the animosities artfully fomented, too strong for even an act of indemnity to compose, would have left no place for a project like this, even under a prince of less dissipation or more good meaning. So that till after the revolution in 1688, there was not, we may say, a time in which any of our princes seem to have had the opportunity fairly before him.

William indeed might have done it, and by not doing it hath left a blot that will long stain the annals of his reign: I rejoice as much as any man in the good effects of that revolution: religion and
liberty

liberty are precious regards: to heaven and its subordinate instruments great returns of praise and gratitude are due: to him, however, we attribute often more than he deserved: our deliverance was neither wrought in the season it might have been, nor was it so perfect as our state required: a barrier for *Holland* took up more of his thoughts, than the internal state of the kingdoms he was invited to govern; and the laurels he reaped at the *Boyne*, withered we may say in the capitulations of *Limerick*.

In the reign of *Q. Ann*, under the administration of lord *Pembroke*, we were told from the throne, that the queen considering the numbers of Papists here, would be glad of any expedient for strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects, and this coming immediately after the union with *Scotland*, bore the air of favourable meaning, as if she wished that the same might succeed in respect of *Ireland*: — the commons then in their senses, gave it this interpretation, and in their address, after congratulating her Majesty upon the glory she had acquired by that union, *hinted a more comprehensive one*: to which she replied, *that they might be sure nothing should be wanting to make the union of all her subjects as extensive as possible*: but so it happened that the lords, with as little respect to decency as good sense, passed it over without taking notice of one or the other*.

This perhaps gives the reason why it went no farther then: in guessing whence and from whom the opposition came, we might not perhaps be

* *Coke's Detection*, Vol. 3. p. 319.

mistaken:

mistaken : but as upon allegations merely conjectural no charge should be laid, I content myself with adding, that as the spirit of the commons ran so high in its favour then, we have reason to hope that it will run with a stronger tide now, when every thing dear and valuable is at stake and exposed to the caprices of fortune and chance. It is a pleasing thought ! why not indulge it ? that this event, so salutary and so desirable, has been reserved by providence to raise and finish the glory of our august sovereign, the amiable indulgent father of his people, and the best of princes.

However strong the tide for it may run, in assemblies where reason and good sense shall preside and lead : discrepancy in judgment is too much to be apprehended without doors : so many partialities may interpose, to make some churlish and others refractory, that the timid and weak, from a prospect unpromising, may possibly be discouraged : I see for all this, no reason to despair, but that means may be found to accommodate it in the end to the general taste.—Let a minister arise *enterprizing with penetration, and bold with firmness*, and every difficulty will fly before him : such an one will never want coadjutors qualified by a competency of temper and discretion, watching the progression in all its stages to smooth the way.

In a country like this, where every measure of government is sure to meet with some opposition, it is not to be expected that a proposition which few have yet considered, should at first have general currency, and be universally pleasing : we may recollect what happened in *Scotland*, when the
thing

thing was set on foot there : and thence we are to imagine that all the old national prejudices, even those that were dormant and dying will be revived : the stores of imagination, and the powers of rhetoric all employed in colouring and declaiming : torrents of eloquence, in pathetic lamentations and hideous bewailings, come pouring upon us from every garret and shop ; *hydras, gorgons, and medusas dire !* start out and present to the affrighted imaginations of the desultory and unwary : old men will dream dreams, and young men see visions ; and the visions of the night will be the entertainment of the day.

In youth, I remember to have read, a speech of a noble lord *, in the debates upon this important subject in *Scotland*, full of these reveries exactly in the stile I am describing : if I mistake not the very speech referred to by a late sensible and judicious writer of that country †, who tells us, *that though a lord in the Scotch parliament pretended to foretel that by the union an exciseman would come to be honoured more than an antient noble of the land, yet that the effect has been such, that the old families have been enabled to preserve their estates, and while they share the liberty and safety of the English, find their antient lustre much the same.*

We may therefore treat these doleful prophets and lamentators in our turn, with the same ridicule which it is said another noble lord, his countryman,

* Lord *Belhaven* : had this speech come in the author's way it had entitled him to a place in the catalogue of R. and N. authors.

† *Dalrymple Hist. of Feudal prop. chap. Entails.*

did the one mentioned: the first, after detailing the many frightful consequences which his disturbed imagination had brought in view, stopt to tell the audience, *that there he must take time to weep, by his tears to give vent to his grief*: the other in reply, at a chosen period, stopt to tell them, *that there he must take time to laugh and express his joy*: the medley of the scene when it comes, doubtless will be whimsical and striking.

When *James VI.* was setting out to take possession of his *English* inheritance; his subjects of *Scotland* attended to take leave and convey him a part of the way, with all the pomp and magnificence they could muster: amongst these attendants, decked in their finest apparel, and mounted on their best steeds, appeared an old reverend man of *Fyfe*, clothed in deepest mourning: being asked, why, when all others were affecting gaiety, he was so singular? made answer: *that he congratulated as much as any of them his majesty's good fortune: but that he looked upon that procession as Scotland's FUNERAL SOLEMNITY, and he came with a heart full of grief, and a correspondent dress, to perform his last duty to his deceased beloved country.*

* The author who tells the story, was one of the most violent in opposing the *union* in 1707, and as it exhibits a just picture of the great power of national prejudice, so it conveys strong assurance that similar instances may arise among ourselves. We are therefore to make account, that as soon as it comes before us we shall be teased

* *Memoirs of Scotland*, from *Q. Anne's* accession to the union. *Lond.* 1714. p. 397.

with

with variety of such impertinence : next to religious prejudices, national ones have, no doubt, the fastest hold ; and longer than any maintain their ground against reason and good sense, especially in old folk, as in the instance recited : but however thick they may beat upon us, the pretences to patriotism founded upon them, will be easily overset, by a detail of the many solid advantages accruing and necessarily following in a quick yet endless succession.

This may be employment hereafter for some better pen, when the scene opening and unfolding may give more inviting opportunity : then will be the time to develope and display the salutary influences it will shed and spread about, and in what manner every man, interested, will find his account : the men of landed property by the doubling of their rents ; the men of trade by speedier, surer, and greater returns, not shackled and confined as they are to narrow tracts and single branches of commerce, but expatiating and traversing, as far as art and invention, winds, rivers, and seas can carry them, every attempt opening a way to another, inviting and pressing forward ; the poor labourers and artisans in the constant employment it will give, and the better wages they will receive : so, that instead of hunger, cold, and nastiness, those tokens of wretchedness, so common and so offensive ; their persons will be cleanly, their habitations neat : their lodgings comfortable, their faces sleek, and their backs well clad ; joy and content banishing all gloominess and dejection.

Then

Then in parts, where now are to be seen dreary wastes, without houses or inclosures, towns or villages will be seen rising, markets and shops and the omnifarious manufactures which want or luxury call for, without the aid of parliament, or a society to distribute it in premiums.

Then, and not till then, will be seen churches now in ruin, rebuilt and repaired, every incumbent or beneficiary become resident, and the complaint of the clergy being more burdensome than useful, no longer heard. The legal maintenance lighter and in smaller proportions falling on individuals, will be less felt, and of course less reluctantly paid. Their pains and their example have more efficacy, and these operating in conjunction with other causes, will do that in less than half a century, which in the way we are going, under all the subsidiary aids derived from piety and good meaning, looks to be at the distance of three or four.

There is, we must own a particularity in our condition very discouraging, that in the case of a neighbouring country did not intervene. *There*, the prejudices to be combated, were only local or national. *Here*, they are both national and religious. *There*, by the union they had confirmed to them, that form to which the genius of the nation had before got a turn, and been some time inured. *Here*, the natives are to be in a manner regenerated. In this particularity, we may perhaps see reason to conclude that more time may be necessary in one than in the other to produce the effect.

fect.—It may be so.—But then from this very particularity, we draw an unanswerable argument to recommend the policy of setting about it immediately; because the longer it is postponed, the more there will be to do: and there is demonstration, that this regeneration impossible in any other way, will soon be perfected in this. The candid reader is by this time able to judge, I trust he thinks with me, that it has been proved by the constant unavoidable intercourse it will open between disagreeing sects, their religious habits and principles like others they are nearly as tenacious of, will insensibly change. I maintain it as a principle, that the means which will be allowed to operate to a change of national customs, will operate also to a change of religious notions and tenets; especially as the design will be less perceivable, stealing upon them unawares, when no force is suspected, no compulsion is observed, and courtesy and condescension, take place of austerity and rigour. Let me therefore for the benefit of memory and recollection, sum up the whole in the concise manner I may, and so leave it upon the readers thoughts.

(1.) That unity of interest, and unity of affection being cause and effect always following and accompanying one another, our unhappy jealousies and domestick divisions, can never subside or cease, till some more social tye is invented and formed, by which we can be so connected as to give us all the appearance at least, of one common interest, as men embarked in the same bottom, to be at all times proportionate sharers either in the prosperity or adversity of the whole, that if at any crisis, a part is to be bettered, and receive

receive any signal advantages, none may go without their equal and due share.

(2.) That the shortest way to the understanding, is always by the heart; so that Papists before they are converted and reclaimed, must first be reconciled: to make them safe subjects, they must first be made useful; get something to do for themselves, as well as their masters; a certainty of enjoying the fruits of their own industry, and that those fruits shall be as abiding and permanent as in the ordinary vicissitude of things under the common course of providence all temporary enjoyments are*.

(3.) That Popery though so long dreadful in its ruling principles, and detestable in its distinguishing doctrines, lying at this day withering, languid, and almost expiring: Papists even under Protestant governments may be considered in a quite different light from what they were formerly. Freed from those incitements to sedition and rebellion, which so often offered and pressed from the power and authority of the universal pastor, their fidelity to their natural princes is less to be suspected, and their promised allegiance more to be relied on: destitute of the occasions, the opportunities, and the means of disturbing government,

* Papists in their addresses tell us that Protestants are at liberty to purchase lands in *France*; upon inquiry I find it is so: the cases however are not parallel, the difference in the constitution of the governments is so great: here, every man hath a legal title not to be voided but by a formal decision in the courts of law: there the will of the prince can destroy or take it from him; expedients however we apprehend might be contrived to take off the weight of this objection.

it is reasonable to suppose they will be quiet and obedient, when the yoke is easy, and the burden is not heavy and galling.

(4.) That if it could be supposed that the quiet demeanor of *Irish* Papists for so many years past, hath been owing merely and only to the severity of the laws enacted against them *; yet that this offers no justifying reason for continuing those laws in their full rigour and severity: because it is so far from being true, or capable of being proved, that the natural consequence of repealing those laws, would be an immediate return on their part to endeavour the subversion of our constitution, that the contrary presumption from the premises, is clearly made out: that it would be followed by cordial attachment and chearful obedience: that having an interest in preserving the constitution, they would grow fond of it, and be zealous in the support of it: the only shift or resource now left to them, is to run away from oppression; to rebel under it, they have no means nor temptations: their condition if they did, might be worse, it could not be made better. I began, and I end with an appeal to Common Sense and Good Nature.

P. S. A friend of the author's having desired him to consider, whether from some hints in the latter Part of this treatise, relating to our *Charter-Schools*, it might not be suspected by some who were not acquainted with his real sentiments, that he bore no friendship to this institution, he has in compliance with that request, though he thinks

* See *Blackbourne's Considerations*, postscript, p. 191.

there is no ground for any such suspicion, added as follows :

Let however a constant eye be kept to the true and best means of their Conversion, and let every thing that is fair and equitable, generous and beneficent, virtuous and laudable be tried to accomplish it : let us not *be weary in well doing* : nor let me be suspected of the most distant design to damp the pious zeal so laudably eminent in the institutions and promoters of our *Charter-Schools*. Far! for ever be removed from my thoughts any such design : they are the best, and perhaps only laudable means of countermining their labours and designs. That by means of them good hath been done, and more will be done, is my real opinion. That they may go on and prosper, is my fervent prayer : but with the most cordial wishes for their advancement, a doubt still rests, that the operation is too slow, to answer the purpose in design by them : and that the object at heart will long be so remote, and at such distance, as in time to give despair, and at last discontinuance, unless seconded and urged by more quickning and availing means. Hath every thing that hath been said upon the subject been duly considered? can it now be a doubt with any one, whether the event I have been all along labouring to recommend, having once taken place, the operation afterwards will not be more uniform, regular and constant, the advancement more smooth and even, that by the united force of both we shall go on irresistibly to the end : the union recommended is such as will bring with it and after it, unity of interest, and unity of affection : and this of course will be followed with such additions of power and wealth,

as will render the united states the glory and envy of the universe: give to the whole such tranquillity at home,—such estimation and respect abroad,—such stability and duration, as nothing foreign or extrinsic, will ever be able to disturb: as nothing but our own pride and wantonness, growing too generally in time, out of excessive opulence and abundance, can ever impair or destroy.

Quod felix faustumque.

The author heard it lately asserted, in an august assembly, by a noble lord for whose amiable character he has the highest respect, that in king *W*—'s reign, Papists, who in respect to Protestants, were not above *six to one*, are now grown to be at least *nine to one*; from what returns this account was taken he knows not; he easily presumes that his lordship thought, he was sufficiently warranted in saying so, but begs leave with the greatest respect and deference to his lordship's superior judgment, to offer here, what he thinks demonstration against it.

It will, he conceives, be easily admitted, that *Ulster*, considered as a fourth part of the kingdom, is to the full as populous, as any of the other three provinces.

It will also be admitted, that the Protestants in *Ulster*, are to the full as many as the Papists.

If so, he then assumes, that if there was not a single Protestant in any of the other three provinces,

vinces, the Papists would then be no more than *seven to one*.

But as Protestants in *Ulster* are undoubtedly more numerous than Papists, and that there are vast numbers scattered through all the other three, the account, as the author has stated it, would seem to be nearer the truth, *i. e.* about *three to one*, Protestants making a fourth part of the whole: the necessity or reasonableness of the measure, the noble lord was supporting, does not stand upon this, that would be equally clear, though the numbers should be found, as the author has stated them. So clear, that it is, indeed, amazing whence the opposition arose.

...the Papilio would then be no more than

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But as Protestants in Wales are undoubtedly more numerous than Papists and that there are vast numbers scattered through all the other three, the account as the author has stated it would seem to be nearer the truth &c. about twice as many Protestants making a fourth part of the whole; the necessity or reasonableness of the measure the noble lord was reporting, does not stand upon this, that would be equally clear, though the numbers should be found as the author has stated them. So clear, that it is, indeed, amazing whence the opposition arose.

Appendix, (No. I.)

Transcript of part of a letter from a lay Gentleman to whom the Author had communicated these sheets.

IN what you have there said, you have I know the concurrent opinion of the most distinguished Protestants on your side, particularly the late judicious and celebrated writer of the history of *Charles V.* in his proofs and illustrations, (note 24), who says, *it is not easy to fix precisely the period at which ecclesiastics first began to claim exemption from the civil jurisdiction: it is certain that during the early ages and purest of the Church, they pretended to no such immunity; the authority of the civil magistrate extended to all persons, and to all causes: he goes on and says, that this fact has been admitted by Roman Catholics of eminence, and has been clearly established by Protestant authors.*

At first view, as what the author has here asserted seems so fully to agree with your own notions and reasoning, it is not improbable that it may have passed over with you very glibly: but you must allow me to call upon you to reconsider the point, for I suspect that you are both mistaken: that the authority of the civil magistrate, at the time, when Christianity was first taught and promulged, and through all the earliest periods of it
till

till the encroachments of the Church of *Rome* took place, extended to all persons and to all causes, is past dispute; as also that they exercised this authority, even after it came to be disputed: but the first part of his assertion, which you explicitly agree to is not so clear to me, and I imagine the contrary may be proved against you both: viz. that the period when ecclesiastics first began to claim exemption from civil jurisdiction, can be precisely fixed from the scriptures of the New Testament; and that from the very beginning of Christianity this immunity was pretended to: if an exempt jurisdiction for the trial of all causes and controversies arising among Christians was appointed or instituted, by the author of their religion: the authority of the revelation is lessened if not destroyed, by supposing that there was any appeal from it to secular judges, or that the members of this society were at liberty to submit their causes to the cognizance of any other court.

Now that such jurisdiction was instituted and established by Christ himself, I argue from *Matt.* 18. 17. If you consult BEZA on this text, he will tell you, *non hic agitur, de quadam politia, sed de ecclesiastica conventa.* And GROTIUS, little differing says, *errant qui de judiciis publicis agi hic existimant*: very inconsistently you will think, after reading the whole note. I must imagine that you of the clergy often blush in private for your commentators, who, wherever I have consulted them, leave the text darker than they found it; in the present case, admitting it to be as they say, yet whatever the nature of the institution was, and let who will preside and give judgment in those conventions; here was plainly a court of conscience,

or

or justice, before which their causes were to be brought, and heard and decided : and the notion I advance, must be plain I imagine to you, if you recollect or will turn to a passage in your papers, p. 12, which proves that *St. Paul* understood this text in the manner I do, and his authority is surely of more weight than all the modern expositors put together : if Christ had appointed no court with proper jurisdiction, no umpire nor arbitrator for the decision of controversies among his disciples, it must look odd in *Paul* to challenge them in the manner he does, in a tone and stile so magisterial and authoritative : *as how dare ye go to law before unbelievers ?* Both he and his master knew human nature too well to imagine that even his heavenly doctrines would have such uniform influence upon their lives, that they should never after becoming disciples, divide, fall out or dispute about property, or have any strife of words : men did not lose their passions by becoming Christians, nor did they forfeit or give up their social rights : to say they did, would be raising a stronger objection to Christianity itself, than either antient or modern unbelievers have yet offered or invented : what then were they to do ? were they to live without law for some hundreds of years, till the emperors and civil magistrates all became Christian, and they should get judges of their own religion to carry their suits before ? this will not be said : consider then, after comparing the two passages, whether it be not strongly both against you and the author I have quoted, that during the first and purest ages of the Church ; they did pretend to such immunities : you indeed have qualified it, by saying, *that the jurisdiction of the Church did not reside solely in the clergy, either for oeconomy, discipline,*

cipline, or correction, and that the whole body of believers had a right of suffrage and assent. But I must doubt whether even this is so clear as you seem to think : because I can't imagine that Christ could have intended to delegate a power of this kind to every ignorant peasant, or craftsman, who should be converted ; and such mostly were all the first converts : therefore by the Church, in the text, it would seem to me more reasonable to believe, he meant those to whom he had given power, and appointed as heads or rulers over the rest.

APPENDIX

Appendix, (No. II.)

Copy of a Paper, referred to p. 178.

IT may be justly argued, on one side, that in this kingdom there is too much religious liberty by connivance, and too little by law.

When abuses of liberty arise from connivance, inconvenience to the state will always increase, and be less subject to remedy, than when they arise from law; because laws are more easily changed than customs, over which laws have rarely any power.

In such case the only remedy the case will bear is, to give the sanction of law to what is already connived at, as far as may be consistent with the quiet and safety of the established religion.

As the bill is partly designed to favour Roman Catholics, this will probably be argued in support of it: but to give the argument any force or shew of reason, it should be shewn how and in what respects, they have abused that liberty they have had by connivance, since the accession of his Majesty.

Laws

Laws which make the condition of Recusants, who have long had liberty by connivance less easy or secure can do no good at any time: if they have any effect, it must be a bad one: because they will never execute themselves, but require force and violence: if the necessary force is applied, it will not only lessen the number of priests, but likewise of subjects, and by that mean, turn more of our lands waste, already the greatest evil we feel.

If the numbers of regular and secular priests be as many as some say they are, they are formidable, and some means or other should be used to lessen them, but the fact is denied by them; they tell us that the number in the whole kingdom doth not exceed 560. If this be true, the terror vanishes, I had it from one of their bishops who, if he was sincere, I suspect was not well informed.

The spirit and general intent of the law I approve, but it comes so clogg'd, that neither they can submit to it, nor ought we to impose it.

To exact from them some test is reasonable, tho' the power and use of tests in general is very little; all parties and sects know how to dispense with them; but the test proposed by this law is too severe: it is in fact to declare they are not Papists, therefore can never any of them submit to it, but in hypocrisy, which will hurt them without availing us. Converts brought in by many acts to prevent, &c. add no strength, I imagine, to the establishment.

It

It is a principle with most Protestants, that religion is a matter, not under nor within the cognizance of the civil magistrate: the noble lord whose bill this is, I am certain is of that opinion: they act therefore inconsistently, by imposing upon Papists any priests but such as are of their own mission, or choice.

Where there is no regular mission, the people chuse, but here neither is allowed: the power of appointing is intirely in the grand-jury of the county, who may, in many cases, appoint a priest, whom neither their bishop would send, nor the people chuse: would it not be better, if in this, they were left to their own discretion, with the restrictions of not sending to *Rome* for bulls or ratifications?

When the priest is appointed, if the people refuse to receive him, who will support and maintain him? instead of receiving this part of the law as a kind indulgence, they will probably complain of it as an insufferable grievance.

The *Reg. Act, Anne c. 3*, became ineffectual, for want of succession, as well as from other causes: the same will be the fate of this: because the bill makes no provision for it: to effectuate the design of the law, R. C. should be allowed both bishops to ordain, and schools and colleges to educate their priests. This would be objected to, as carrying the air of an establishment rather than a toleration: but this is mere squeamishness: prejudices imbibed at home, will be less noxious, and less

less inveterate than those contracted abroad : and it may deserve to be considered, whether it would not be better to improve the plan, by granting to every Popish priest a fixed legal stipend, with the power of levying it of their own congregations : whether this would not operate as strongly on the lower classes, as the *gavel* does on the upper ; men will chearfully pay large sums in the way of benevolence, who will grumble at a trifling assessment ; they would come in time to ask themselves, why, since it is in our power, should we not save one of these taxes ?

There is another thing they will call a grievance : the bill obliges every registered priest to become *informer* against all persons offending against this law within his knowledge : this might be for the priest's advantage ; because the fewer mendicants come into his district, the more there would be for himself : but it would make them odious to their flocks, and subject them to heavy censures from their superiors, against which the laws might not at all times be sufficient to protect them.

APPEN-

Appendix, (No. III.)

Remarks upon a passage on a Book intituled, Observations on the Statutes.

NOTHING of late has surpris'd me more than the observation of a modern of remarkable erudition, and in most points very judicious: — Speaking of an Edition of *Fabian's Chronicle*, mentioned by the compilers of the *Parliamentary History*, in which the word, *POPE*, is erased throughout; he thinks, contrary to the opinion of compilers, “that it could not be owing to any proclamation to forbid the use of that odious name, but to the indiscreet zeal of some ecclesiastic reformer.” — Hence he takes occasion to observe; a supposed advantage to the states of *Europe* from the influence and ascendancy which the popes formerly claimed: King *John's* submission of his crown, &c. to the see of *Rome*, the *English* he acknowledges justly treated indignantly, and yet thinks there was great use to *Europe* in general, from there being a *common Referee* who in all matters in dispute, could not think of extending his own dominions, though he might often make an improper use of the power as a mediator: in the next Paragraph he goes on and says, must not a Protestant admit, “that where a weaker power was opposed by a stronger, and there were no alliances as now to support one another with
“ troops,

“ troops, &c. there was often convenience in apply-
 “ ing to a mediator who by the terror of his ana-
 “ themas, might say,” and with effect, “ your
 “ conquest and oppressions must not extend any
 “ farther, and was not *England* delivered from a
 “ foreign army in the centre of the country chiefly
 “ by the intercession and menaces of the pope ?”
 (31 *Hen.* 8.)

✱ The Author's view or reason for this obser-
 vation, I don't know, nor will I pretend to guess :
 but I must observe that he has neither stated the
 historical fact truly, nor supported his inference
 with any colour of reason. The arms of *Philip*
 and *Lewis*, were not stopt by the menaces of the
 pope ; on the contrary, it was he who first advised
 and instigated the invasion, and when he after-
 wards interposed to stop them, they bid defiance
 to his menaces : had they regarded them, *England*
 would not have been invaded : *Lewis's* claim by
 his wife *Blanch*, descended by her mother from
Henry II. was but a mock pretence, and the pope
 had accepted *John's* submission, and made his bar-
 gain with him before they embarked : in conse-
 quence by his legate he commanded *Philip* not to
 proceed, and threatened him with an interdict, if
 he dared to invade what was then the patrimony of
St. Peter, &c. *Philip* assured of the obedience of
 his vassals went on, and the issue was prevented
 only by the *English* barons jealousy of the bad de-
 signs of *Lewis*, and in consequence deserting him ;
 wherein no respect was paid on either side to the
 pope's mandates or menaces.

The pope, however, in this whole transaction
 shewed that he was of all others the most improper
 person

person to be chosen as a referee, for here as in all other cases, he proved by his conduct, that what he only looked to was the extension of his own dominions: by his traffic with *John* he annexed both *England* and *Ireland* to *St. Peter's* patrimony, obliging the king and his successors to hold them as *feudatory* of the Church of *Rome*, by the annual payment of 1000 Marks, and to do homage to *PANDOLF* his legate.

How could this Author then say, that in matters of dispute, submitted to his arbitration, he could never think of extending his dominions? and how could he forget that the invasion of *Philip* was owing first to the contrivance of the pope? who to allure him to it, promised (besides the remission of all his sins) the property and possession of *England*, &c. how honestly he kept his promise, every body, who has read the history of the times, must know.

If the Author will go over the histories of *Europe*, and produce an instance of one pope who, in such conjuncture ever let slip the opportunity of extending his dominions, we will then acknowledge popes might be fitting referees in such disputes, provided they could contrive to put new life into their anathemas, so long regarded as mere *Bruta Fulmina*; at present they seem likelier to receive law than to give it, and by the scantiness of their patrimony, to become tributary in time to some neighbouring prince.

I am sensible that great names have adopted the same notion: *Grotius* gave into it, and *MONTESQUIEU* in express terms: none of them, however,
have

have ever shewn us what the advantages of it ever were or could be: If a scheme of the kind could come recommended to the judgment of mankind, that contrived by *Henry IV. of France*, to be read in the memoirs of *SULLY*, bid fairest: but even that, if the state of *Europe* would have borne it in his time, must be treated as visionary and absurd now. — Princes are not to be trusted with one another's rights, and it may easily be imagined that their judgments in such cases where they might be appealed to, would too much resemble a famous decision of an old *Roman* arbitrator mentioned by *Tully*, de Offic. c. 1.

A dispute arising between the *Nolans* and *Neapolitans*, about the boundaries of their little states, they agreed to refer it to the *Romans*: the *Romans* deputed one to examine the cause, who coming on the spot took the chiefs on both sides apart, and persuaded each to moderate, and rather to fall short than exceed in their demands: they did so, whence an intermediate space remained claimed by neither, and this the mediator adjudged to the *Romans*. The orator's censure upon it is, *hoc non est judicare sed decipere*: the same it might be feared would even Christian princes do in many cases if empowered to mediate with the same authority: it was exactly the part acted by his holiness *Innocent III.*

It is easily possible, says a fine writer, for a man in a barbarous age to unite strong talents with an absurd taste in science: but in the present age to account for an observation of this kind from a writer of so much erudition, Judgment and Taste, is beyond the compass of my understanding.

F I N I S.

